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"A MIRROR

FOR

THE PRETENDED DEMOCRACY,"

FROM THE NATIONAL INTELLIGENCER OF OCTOBER 1, 1840:

To which is added,

A REPORT ON EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE,

Made to the Senate of the United States, May 4, 1826,

BY A SELECT COMMITTEE,

CONSISTING OF MESSRS. BENTON, MACON, **VAN BUREN**, WHITE, DICKERSON, HOLMES, HAYNE, AND JOHNSON OF KENTUCKY.

Among the objections to the present Administration, following in the footsteps of the last, which deserve a more particular consideration than they have heretofore received from us, is the great extent to which EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE has been employed, according to the maxim of the dominant party, for the rewarding its friends and the punishment of its enemies, and with a view to the perpetuation of its own power. Perhaps our readers, for the interest of the subject, will keep company with us whilst we hastily pass in review the political history of the few past years in reference to the extension, perversion, and abuse of Executive patronage.

It is within the recollection of every reader how great a clamor was raised, during the Presidency of Mr. J. Q. ADAMS, against his Administration, for its imputed disposition to extend and augment the Executive patronage with a view to political power, &c. Unfounded and unjust as the imputation was, it was the chief of the ostensible grounds of opposition to the re-election of Mr. ADAMS. To give it more consequence in the public eye, it was made the subject of labored inquiries and solemn reports by party committees in both Houses of Congress, and of prolonged and vehement debates in those bodies, as well as of the most insidious appeals to popular prejudice; in which service all the arts by which demagogues so well know how to dupe the people when they want to make use of them, were put in requisition.

We recur to the records of that day as well for the purpose of showing what doctrines were then maintained by those who are now at the head of the pretended democratic party, as also for authentic official evidence of the actual extent of Executive patronage, direct and indirect, which these pure and disinterested patriots, to answer the purpose they had then in hand, represented as a crying grievance. From the printed documents of Congress now before us we extract the following particulars:

In the SENATE of the United States, on the 8th day of February, 1826, the following resolution, moved by Mr. MACON, (at the instance, probably, of Mr. BENTON,) was adopted without a division, viz:

"*Resolved*, That the committee to whom have been referred the several resolutions to amend the Constitution of the United States, be instructed to inquire into the expediency of diminishing or regulating the patronage of the Executive of the United States, and that the committee have leave to report by bill or otherwise."

[This committee consisted of Mr. BENTON, Mr. MACON, Mr. VAN BUREN, and six other Senators]

On the 4th day of May, 1826, Mr. BENTON, the chairman of this committee, produced to the Senate, as the result of their deliberations, a report, beginning as follows:

"After mature deliberation, the committee are of opinion that it is expedient to di-
'minish, or to regulate, by law, the Executive patronage of the Federal Government,
'whenever the same can be done consistently with the provisions of the Constitution, and
'without impairing the proper efficiency of the Government. Acting under this conviction
'they have reviewed, as carefully as time and other engagements would permit them to
'do, the degree and amount of patronage now exercised by the President, and have ar-
'rived at the conclusion that the same may, and ought to, be diminished by law."

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"In coming to the conclusion (says the report, further) that Executive patronage ought ' to be diminished and regulated, on the plan proposed, [by six several bills reported by ' the committee, but never passed upon,] the committee rest their opinion on the ground ' that *the exercise of great patronage in the hands of one man has a constant tendency to ' sully the purity of our institutions and endanger the liberties of the country.*"

Inserting (or understanding) the word "*unnecessarily*," or any word of similar import, before the word "*great*," where it occurs in the above sentence, the doctrine which it includes is sound Whig doctrine, such as all real Democrats profess when out of power, and try to act upon when the power is in their hands. It is the doctrine upon which all branches of the Government acted during the first years of Mr. JEFFERSON's Administration; which the accident of war for several years put aside during a part of Mr. MADISON's; which was revived in practice after the exigencies of war ceased, was observed, with a good deal of consistency, during Mr. MONROE's, but was most rigidly practised upon during the Administration of Mr. J. Q. ADAMS, when Messrs. BENTON, VAN BUREN & Co. affected to take fright at the *alarming extent* of Executive patronage.

In order to show upon what grounds these gentlemen had arrived at the conclusion that the degree and amount of the patronage then exercised by the President might and ought to be diminished, the Senate's committee begins very properly by showing the extent to which that patronage then existed. We quote the report:

"The committee think it right to attempt to give an idea of the greatness of this power of patronage by referring to an example in a single city. They will take the city of New York, and a single branch of the federal patronage in that city; and, to avoid mistake or error, will limit their reference to a work of unquestionable authority upon this subject—the '*Blue Book*' of the Republic, which corresponds with the '*Red Book*' of monarchies, and will read from pages 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, of that growing little volume.

Names and Compensation of the Officers of the Customs at New York.

Jonathan Thompson,	Collector,	$4,000 00
Abraham R. Lawrence,	Appraiser,	2,000 00
Frederick Jenkins,	do.	2,000 00
William Seignoret,	Clerk,	500 00
John Condit,	Assist. Collector, Jersey,	1,000 00
John T. Vernon,	Surveyor,	150 00
John Kearney,	Deputy Collector,	1,500 00
Samuel S. Gardiner,	do.	1,500 00
David Thompson,	Cashier,	1,500 00
Nathaniel Shultz,	Auditor,	1,000 00

CLERKS.

Cornelius Duryee	$650 00	Daniel Bennet	500 00	Wm. B. Byram	300 00
Ebenezer Platt	650 00	Jos. Osborn, Jr.	500 00	And. H. Mickle	300 00
Jacob Duryee	600 00	James B. Thurston	500 00	Nathaniel Olcott	500 00
Zeophar Platt	550 00	Norman Butler	600 00	David Seabury	500 00
Joseph Leonard	550 00	Samuel H. Eakin	600 00	Lewis M. Wiss	145 53
T. McCready, Jr.	550 00	Chas. A. Gardiner	500 00	John R. Kean	241 67
Wm. Wier	500 00	Thos. H. Dubois	500 00	Aaron Phillips	112 22
Wm G. Haycock	500 00	Thos. Dennison	500 00	John Harrison	79 12
John H. Ball	500 00	William J. McMaster	500 00	Bernardus C. Lake	73 63
George W. Thompson	500 00	Andrew Martine	500 00	Junius Thompson	92 03
Wm. Tuthill	500 00	Isaac Bluxome	500 00	George Waterman	58 24
Joshua Philips	500 00	Henry Bull	500 00		

INSPECTORS.

James Anderson	$1,095 00	Oliver Jaques	300 00	Sylvester Sullivan	1,095 00
James D. Bisset	1,086 00	Wm. Keepe	1,095 00	Peter Taylor	300 00
Joseph Board	1,095 00	Peter Kinman	1,095 00	Egbert Thompson	1,095 00
Abraham Boker	1,095 00	John B. Kissam	303 00	Wm. Underhill	300 00
John R. Bowne	1,020 00	John H. Leggatt	1,095 00	B. M. Van Beuren	1,095 00
Geo. G. Burras	1,080 00	Jacob Ludlam	1,095 00	Wm Van Beuren	1,095 00
John Byers	282 00	Donald McLean	1,077 00	Jacob Vanderpool	1,095 00
Charles Chipp	1,095 00	Samuel Marvin	1,095 00	John Van Dyck	1,095 00
Stephen Crane	1,095 00	James Mitchell	1,095 00	Andrew Van Tuyl	1,095 00
Moses Cunningham	297 00	John Morris	1,095 00	Jacob Van Winkle	1,095 00
Jos. Cutler	1,092 00	Walter Morton	1,095 00	Thomas Walton	1,032 00
Thomas Darling	1,095 00	John C. Mott	300 00	Thomas Waring	1,095 00
John De Camp	1,095 00	Wm. E. Nexen	1,095 00	Caleb T. Ward	1,095 00
Bertrand Dupoy	1,080 00	Richard Nixon	1,095 00	Richard Ward	1,095 00
Jacob Frank	1,086 00	Naphtali Philips	1,095 00	Jedediah Waterman	1,095 00
Calvin Gay	1,011 00	Elijah Pinkney	1,095 00	Wm. Willing	1,095 00
John Gelston	1,095 00	Richard Platt	1,080 00	John Whittlesey	1,095 00
Zaddock Hedden	1,095 00	James Porter	1,095 00	Elam Williams	1,095 00
George Howard	1,095 00	George Seaman	297 00	Jos. Willoughby	300 00
Bezaleel Howe	1,095 00	Walter Seaman	1,080 00	Benjamin Wood	1,095 00
Nathaniel Hunt	1,095 00	Elihu Smith	300 00	John Woodward	1,095 00
Robert Hunter	1,074 00	Peter R. Sprainger	1,077 00		
George Junis	1,095 00	Dennis Stricker	1,095 00		

GAUGERS.

Abraham Baudoine	1,789 88	Elias Nexen	1,339 29	Har. C. Tallman	1,843 66
Rinier V. Mooney	1,874 54	Arch. Somerville	1,015 49	Wm. R. Thompson	2,137 99

WEIGHERS.

Ebenezer Belknap	1,781 17	Gerret Forbes	3,386 70	Jacob Stoutenburg	1,065 10
Alexander Blucher	1,619 94	Thomas Hazard	1,040 41	Jacob Tallman	2,363 10
Jeremiah Brower	1,830 74	Francis McClure	2,176 23	Elbert P. Waine	2,382 68
Elihu H. Decamp	2,153 58	Alexander Nicoll	1,161 27		

MEASURERS.

Samuel Burling	618 65	John Gould	1,040 29	Ephraim Snow	885 51
Nicholas G. Carmer	936 47	James W. Gray	833 66	Harmanus Vedder	1,041 43
Daniel Dodge	1,174 17	Wm. Philips	1,121 79	Peter Wynkoop	1,124 09
Ezekiel Dodge	727 33	Bernardus Rider	1,252 29	John J. Cluett	524 47

Peter Smith, Deputy Inspector of the Revenue	$1,748 87
Ebenezer Cole, do.	600 35
Wm. Jessup, do.	1,235 71
G. Cunningham, do.	84 60
Henry Cahoone, Captain Revenue Cutter	819 00
Wm. Isaac, 1st Lieutenant do.	566 00
J. A. Bender, 2d do. do.	506 00
John S. Doane, Keeper of Light-house	400 00
John H. Gardiner, do.	350 00
Noah Mason, do.	300 00
Edward Shoemaker, do.	300 00
Charles H. Bernard, Light ship Master,	700 00
John Oakes, Mate,	350 00
John Ferguson, Naval Officer,	3,000 00
David S. Lyon, Deputy do	1,500 00

CLERKS.

Wm. Burtsell	$800 00	Lewis D. Ozville	600 00	Lewis Webb, Jr.	400 00
John Cockle	750 00	Michael Roth	600 00	James McFarland	60 00
Philip Tabele	600 00	Henry Reed	600 00		
Samuel Osgood	600 00	Joseph B. Bleecher	500 00		

Joseph G. Swift, Surveyor,	2,500 00	E. B. Grayson, Third Clerk,	500 00
Samuel Terry, Deputy do.	1,500 00	D. Thompson, Collecting do.	170 00
Anthony Haff, First Clerk.	800 00	John C. Mickle, Messenger,	300 00
Pierre A. Young, Second do.	750 00	Thomas Brannan, Porter,	180 00

"A formidable list, indeed! formidable in numbers, and still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands. The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election; and that they will be so animated, is a proposition too plain to need demonstration. *Power* over a man's *support* has always been held and admitted to be *power* over his *will*. The President has 'power' over the 'support' of all these officers, and they again have 'power' over the 'support' of debtor merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars per annum, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day-laboring, to whom they *can* and *will* extend, or deny, a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the part which they shall act in *State*, as well as in *Federal*, elections. Still this is only a branch, a mere prong, of Federal patronage in the city of New York. The same Government has, in the same city, a Branch of the United States Bank, wielding a capital of many millions; a large military, naval, and post office establishment; a judiciary, with its appropriate officers; presses, which print the laws and public advertisements; and a long list of contractors and jobbers."

As at New York, so (further argues the Report) is it throughout the Union. "Every-'where, to the extreme frontier of the remotest State and Territory, Federal patronage 'will be found, in degree and force, proportionate to the population of the place, and for-'ever augmenting with the increasing power of the Government. *Diminution of patron-'age is not thought of.*" "The power of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous 'interposition of Congress, must go on increasing, until Federal influence, in many parts 'of this Confederation, will predominate in elections as completely as British influence 'predominates in the elections of Scotland and Ireland, in rotten borough towns, and in 'the great naval stations of Portsmouth and Plymouth."

Confining ourselves, for the moment, to what concerns the *extension* of Executive patronage, (reserving for separate consideration other parts of this celebrated and really orthodox exposition of the danger to be apprehended from the undue enlargement of Executive patronage,) we proceed to show how the party, for whose purposes this report was made, with the Master Spirit of this committee at the head of that party, has not only not conformed in practice to its own preaching, but, instead of *diminishing* the Executive patronage, (the *not doing* which was the only charge the Senate committee ventured even to insinuate against President ADAMS,) has actually, within the ten or eleven years it has had possession of power, *trebled* and even *quadrupled* the degree and amount of the Executive patronage! Mr. ADAMS had not set himself to work to *razee* the frame of the Government as it came into his hands, and the morals of the Opposition, organized by Mr. VAN BUREN to his Administration, became so shocked at the danger of corruption from this source, that some expression of their delicate sensibilities upon the subject became

absolutely necessary to relieve their laboring breasts. Hence the *Report*, from which we have made the above extract, in which they disburthened themselves of their patriotic anxieties. Now let us see to what extent Mr. VAN BUREN and his friends, having full possession of power for eleven years, have *cut down* the expenses of the Government, and thereby *reduced* the extent of Executive patronage.

In this examination we follow the example of the Senate committee, in every particular. We take the city of New York, and a single branch of the federal patronage in that city, and, "to avoid mistake or error," we too limit our reference to the work "of unquestionable authority," the "Blue Book" of the Republic: and from that book, the United States' Official Register of all Officers and Agents in the service of the United States on the 30th of September, 1839, (pages 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, and 49,) we copy the following:

Officers of the Customs at New York.

Jesse Hoyt,	Collector	$4,400
J. T. Ferguson,	Deputy Collector	1,500
John J. Mumford,	do	1,500
George Davis,	do	1,500
C. P. Clinch,	do	1,500
G. A. Wasson,	do	1,500
Sidney Wetmore,	do	1,500
Talman J. Waters,	Cashier	3,000
J. R. Bleeker,	Assistant Cashier	1,500
John A. Fleming,	Auditor	3,000
W. P. Holl,	Assistant Auditor	1,500
John W. Hunter,	do	1,250

APPRAISERS.

Jeronius Johnson - 2,000 00	J. Lounsberry - 1,500 00	J. Prall - - 1,500 00
A. B. Mead - 2,000 00	B. J. Messerole - 1,500 00	P. Thomas - - 1,500 00
A. B. Vanderpoel - 2,000 00		

CLERKS.

R. M. Mitchell - 1,250 00	G. D. Overton - - 900 00	G. D. Cooper - - 600 00
J. L. Tiffany - 1,250 00	G. L. Osthout - 900 00	G. W. Blake - 400 00
S. H. Eakin - 1,050 00	E. H. Plume - 900 00	W. C. Connor - 400 00
A. N. Philips - 1,050 00	W. Fream - 900 00	W. M. Haff - 300 00
Leonard A. Bleecker - 1,050 00	C. Gill - - 900 00	M. Burnham - 1,000 00
Elias D. Ogden - 1,000 00	P. A. Young - 900 00	Elam Bliss - 800 00
William A. Spies - 1,000 00	D.R. Strachan - 900 00	Edward Bleeker - 1,000 00
Nath. Alcott - 1,050 00	C. Radcliff - 900 00	J. E. Chadeayne - 1,000 00
Wm. Lang - 1,050 00	C.J. Cannon - 900 00	Charles J. Chipp - 1,000 00
D. Sullivan - 1,050 00	E.L. Matthews - 900 00	William A. Cox - 1,000 00
C. Duryee - 1,000 00	H. Doane - 900 00	H. M. Graham - 1,000 00
R. C. Overton - 1,000 00	J. H. Roe - 900 00	Munson Gray - 1,000 00
Isaac Bluxome - 1,000 00	S. Paret - 900 00	James H. Greenfield - 1,000 00
J. Leonard - 1,000 00	Thomas Shankland - 900 00	John D. Herttell - 1,000 00
W. J. McMaster - 1,000 00	R. B. Adams - 800 00	John R. S. Hugget - 1,000 00
T. V. Mumford - 1,000 00	J. C. Delmar - 800 00	D. Kohlsaat - 1,000 00
Chas. A. Gardiner - 1,000 00	J. L. S. Grandin - 800 00	Samuel Lupton - 800 00
D. Bonnet - 1,000 00	E. Hyde - 800 00	Daniel Monroe - 1,000 00
D. Stansbury - 1,000 00	E. G. Livingston - 800 00	E. H. Nichols - 1,000 00
John R. Hinchman - 1,000 00	J. C. Niebuhr - 800 00	William T. Prall - 1,000 00
Leonard Wyant - 1,000 00	P. K. Ogden - 800 00	Edgar Tripler - 1,000 00
M. S. Swartwout - 1,000 00	D. S. Grandin - 800 00	George C. Tyler - 1,000 00
James B. Thurston - 1,000 00	W. B. Fremain - 800 00	Abra. Vanderpoel - 800 00
Wm. C. Dayton - 1,000 00	H. Bruce - 800 00	Adrian Van Riper - 1,000 00
G. A. Brown - 1,000 00	W. W. Fream - 800 00	Geo. M. Wetmore - 1,000 00
J. A. Bogart - 900 00	T. H. Dennison - 800 00	James N. Jones - 1,000 00
Samuel Cadle - 900 00	C. M. Tucker - 800 00	Francis Vosburg - 1,000 00
R. S. Newby - 900 00	C. W. Baker - 800 00	Chas. W. Johnson - 1,000 00
J. B. Wood - 900 00	W. A. Pearson - 800 00	Charles H. Innes - 500 00
Wm. Dempsey - 900 00	H. Ulshoeffer - 800 00	John H Dunn - 200 00
G. S. Brisbin - 900 00	Thomas J. Gillilan - 800 00	W H. Hyatt, porter - 800 00
W. C Gray - 900 00	Frederick Schwanck - 800 00	J. P. Half, messenger - 250 00
H. W Christie - 900 00	F. C. Niebuhr - 600 00	W. Elder do - 200 00
P. V. Remsen - 900 00	R. V. Newby - 600 00	C. Niebuhr do - 800 00
G W Rose - 900 00		

INSPECTORS.

Henry Abell - $1,095 00	Thomas Brownell - 1,095 00	Amos Coles - 1,095 00
Abraham Ackerman - 1,095 00	Dennis Brink - 1,095 00	Barnet Cole - 1,095 00
Rowland P. Allen - 1,095 00	George H Biddle - 1,095 00	Henry Cheavans - 1,095 00
Robert Adams - 1,095 00	Barnabas Bates - 1,095 00	John Colvill - 1,095 00
Henry C. Atwood - 1,095 00	William Boggs - 1,095 00	Joseph Clark - 1,095 00
John Bleecker - 1,095 00	Jefferson Brown - 1,095 00	Peter Coutant - 1,095 00
James D. Bisset 1,095 00	Adam Blacklidge - 1,095 00	John Connor - 1,095 00
John R Browne 1,095 00	William Beebe - 1,095 00	Abraham W. Cooper - 1,095 00
Wm. J. Brown 1,095 00	Pascal Bertine - 1,095 00	John Cox - 1,095 00
Jacob Burdette - 1,095 00	Alexander Bidwell - 1,095 00	Wm Currie - 1,095 00
John Black - 1,095 00	Samuel W. Coe 1,095 00	Nathan Chamberlain - 1,095 00
William Benjamin - 1,095 00	William Cairnes - 1,095 00	Jacob J. Cohen - 1,095 00

Thomas Chatterton	1,095 00	George Innes	1,095 00	Hump. Ricketson	1,095 00
John Comerford	1,095 00	Edgar Irving	1,095 00	John Pierce	1,095 00
Patrick Caffry	1,095 00	Andrew Jackson	1,095 00	George Rocard	1,095 00
L. K. Campbell	1,095 00	Thomas Jenkins	1,095 00	Wm. H. Randall	1,095 00
Thomas Caslin	1,095 00	Obadiah Jackson	1,095 00	N. C. Robertson	1,095 00
John DeKamp	1,095 00	William D. Jones	1,095 00	Samuel D. Rouse	1,095 00
Abraham Davids	1,095 00	Henry Keyser	1,095 00	James K. Roe	1,095 00
Joseph Dreyfouse	1,095 00	Robert E. Kelley	1,095 00	Henry Raymond	1,095 00
T. J. Davis	1,095 00	John C. Keeler	1,095 00	William Shute	1,095 00
Moran Dugan	1,095 00	George H. Kellinger	1,095 00	Charles Stuart	1,095 00
Abraham Dally, Jr.	1,095 00	William Lee	1,095 00	William Smith	1,095 00
Jeremiah Dodge	1,095 00	Amos Leeds	1,095 00	Dennis Striker	1,095 00
Edmund Driggs	1,095 00	George W. Lent	1,095 00	Asa H. Swift	1,095 00
Charles Denike	1,095 00	John M. Lester	1,095 00	Henry Storms	1,095 00
Thomas S. Day	1,095 00	H. G. Lewis	1,095 00	James Smyth	1,095 00
Darius Darling	1,095 00	Joseph Lyon	1,095 00	Henry F. Sands	1,095 00
A. G. Dixon	1,095 00	William Lupton	1,095 00	C. V. Schermerhorne	1,095 00
J. O. Dissoway	1,095 00	Samuel Lloyd	1,095 00	Andrew Sure	1,095 00
Nathaniel Devau	1,095 00	John Little	1,095 00	Thomas S. Stevens	1,095 00
John J. Earle	1,095 00	Richard Lewis	1,095 00	Daniel Sparks	1,095 00
Anthony B. Ellison	1,095 00	Thomas H. Lyell	1,095 00	John Salmon	1,095 00
Joseph Ellis	1,095 00	P. P. Livingston	1,095 00	Egbert G. Sweet	1,095 00
R. J. Everett	1,095 00	Abra'm A. Legget	1,095 00	James Smith	1,095 00
Job Funnan	1,095 00	Henry Libernau	1,095 00	Levi D. Slane	1,095 00
Henry Fanning	1,095 00	James Ladd	1,095 00	Peter Tappan	1,095 00
Richard Finning	1,095 00	Leroy McEvers	1,095 00	Peter Taylor	1,095 00
Charles D. Field	1,095 00	Geo. S. Messerve	1,095 00	James T. Thompson	1,095 00
Samuel B. Fleming	1,095 00	Joseph Y. Miller	1,095 00	Andrew Tombs	1,095 00
Peter Field	1,095 00	Alexander Ming	1,095 00	Thomas Trenon	1,095 00
David Feeks	1,095 00	Abraham Messerole	1,095 00	Griffin Tompkins	1,095 00
E. B. Fitch	1,095 00	John Morris, Jr.	1,095 00	William Thorne	1,095 00
Peter Fairchild	1,095 00	John McGlom	1,095 00	James Thorne	1,095 00
John H. Frederick	1,095 00	Henry McCaddin	1,095 00	O. H. Tompkins	1,095 00
Joshua Fleet	1,095 00	John McKibbin	1,095 00	John Townsend	1,095 00
David Gardner	1,095 00	William B. Mott	1,095 00	Thomas W. Titus	1,095 00
W. H. P Graham	1,095 00	Joseph Marsh	1,095 00	John J. Tracey	1,095 00
Peter Gordon	1,095 00	George McCready	1,095 00	Richard Tyson	1,095 00
Thos. M. Gahogan	1,095 00	Wm. McLaughlin	1,095 00	John Townsend, Jr.	1,095 00
Charles Green	1,095 00	George W. Matsell	1,095 00	Samuel Utter	1,095 00
Edmund Gross	1,095 00	John McGrath	1,095 00	B. M. Van Beuren	1,095 00
Nathaniel H. Green	1,095 00	Montgomery Moses	1,095 00	J. L.[s] Van Boskerck	1,095 00
Frederick Groshon	1,095 00	John Marston	1,095 00	John Van Dyk	1,095 00
D. Henderson, jr.	1,095 00	James McMillan	1,095 00	C. Van Antwerp	1,095 00
Edward Hitchcock	1,095 00	John J. Manning	1,095 00	T. B. Vermilyea	1,095 00
Elias Hicks	1,095 00	Patrick McCafferty	1,095 00	John W. Vethake	1,095 00
Wm. Honay	1,095 00	Donald McDonald	1,095 00	John Van Dine	1,095 00
Ward B. Howard	1,095 00	Charles McDermott	1,095 00	William Welling	1,095 00
D. R. Hitchcock	1,095 00	Wm. Marshall, jr.	1,095 00	Everasdus Warner	1,095 00
Andrew Hutton	1,095 00	D. McGrath	1,095 00	Benjamin Wood	1,095 00
William D. Hughes	1,095 00	Wm. C. Neilson	1,095 00	Isaac Wood	1,095 00
George Howard	1,095 00	S. C Nicoll	1,095 00	Wm. J. Wiswall	1,095 00
John H. Hunt	1,095 00	Gideon Ostrander, Jr.	1,095 00	John W. Wheeler	1,095 00
Edwin A. Hopkins	1,095 00	James M. Oakley	1,095 00	W W. Wells	1,095 00
Thomas Hope	1,095 00	Morris Oakley	1,095 00	M. R. Walsh	1,095 00
Addison Hill	1,095 00	Cornelius W. Oakely	1,095 00	J. W. Westervelt	1,095 00
Charles Hunter	1,095 00	John Orser	1,095 00	J. R. Waldran	1,095 00
Thomas Hall	1,095 00	Francis Ogsburg	1,095 00	Thomas Wiswal	1,095 00
Archibald Hays	1,095 00	Robert Phillips	1,095 00	Asa W. Weldran	1,095 00
Thomas Howard	1,095 00	Napli Phillips	1,095 00	Daniel Winans	1,095 00
David Holly	1,095 00	Alex. V. Phister	1,095 00	William Seymour	1,095 00
Isaac A. Isaacs	1,095 00	Abra. K. Patterson	1,095 00	Barnum Whipple	912 50

NIGHT INSPECTORS.

William Angevine	638 75	Richard Harrold	638 75	Michael Smith	638 75
William Boardman	638 75	J. E. Hatfield	638 75	Enoch Soper	638 75
Thomas Bloomar	638 75	Stephen A. Kent	638 75	Jacob B. Mesereau	638 75
Francis Boss	638 75	Christian Kramer	638 75	J. Tyson	638 75
Bernard Conway	638 75	Nathaniel Ladd	638 75	John H. Tupsler	638 75
Peter F. Cisco	638 75	James O. Ludlow	638 75	A. J. F. Tombs	638 75
James Carpenter	638 75	Lawrence Langton	638 75	Philip Tabele	638 75
Michael Christal	638 75	Robert Lawrence	638 75	P. G. Turish	638 75
Samuel Doxey[s]	638 75	John McMahon	638 75	James Van Tassel	638 75
Philip Doyle	638 75	John McPherson	638 75	John Vandervoort	638 75
L. Dunkley	638 75	Charles Magness	638 75	A. Van Orden, jr.	638 75
William W. Fisher	638 75	Boltis Moore, jr.	638 75	John E. Wood	638 75
Thomas J. Foote	638 75	James Moncrief	638 75	Samuel Wood	563 87
John F. Gantz	638 75	Parker Muren	638 75	William Wason	638 75
Barnabas Gillespie	638 75	John Neafie	638 75	William Whitley	638 75
Philip Gibson	638 75	John Priestly	638 75	Zophan Wood	638 75
George G. Glazier	638 75	Alfred Palmer	638 75	William Woodhull	638 75
George Gordon	638 75	Frederick Roome	638 75	Amos Warring	638 75
Richard Harcourt	638 75	Thomas Standerwick	938 75	James G. Yates	638 75
Leonard D. House	638 75	William Spreight	638 75	G. B. Wooldridge	638 75
Peter Hull	638 75	Charles K. Smith	638 75		

WEIGHERS.*

Alexander Bleeker	1,548 56	Thomas Hazard	1,261 42	John M. Pattison	3,132 56
Jeremiah Brower	2,597 64	Step. B. Hoffman	2,596 82	David Poore	2,156 77
William E Cruger	1,134 40	Thomas Kirk	1,996 00	George Sibell	2,463 66
E. H De Camp	1,796 05	Lewis Loutrel	2,560 62	John Sickles	2,036 82
Robert Dumont	3,870 15	Charles Mills	2,516 77	James Westervelt	2,317 99
John Franklin	2,254 21	John W. Oakley	1,866 69		

GAUGERS.*

Benjamin Fuller	3,088 41	Alex. Ming, jr.	2,288 13	John Tuomy	2,313 08
Thomas W. Garniss	1,150 13	Elias Nexsen, jr.	2,118 65	Edward C. Thruston	1,966 60
A. C. Houghton	2,332 51	William Ryer	2,723 42	A. J. Walker	3,059 69
Thomas Morris	1,068 62	Henry E. Riell	2,625 12	T. P. Walworth	3,960 50

MEASURERS.*

John Alwaise	2,013 54	Joseph Hopkins	1,618 31	Alfred G. Stevens	1,110 16
Jacob D. Clute	1,911 71	G. W. McPherson	1,826 88	John M. Thorne	1,829 92
William Durell	1,780 72	George Nixon	1,553 11	J. B. Vanderpool	1,779 17
J. W. Forbes	1,712 83	Lemuel Pittman	1,925 64	Jacob M. Vreeland	1,829 40
Edmund Fitch	1,683 97	J. J. B. Rowan	1,738 82	E. J. McCarthy	753 63
W. M. Hitchcock	1,734 18	J. W Richardson	1,677 03	Garrit T. Bratt	47 49
William Hagadon	1,836 49	Henry C. Sperry	1,664 41	Robert Gourlay	1,767 00

G. H. Richards, Deputy Inspector of Revenue or Marker	$1,637 00
Marcus Sears do do	1,285 65
Allan M. Sniffen do do	1,829 65
John J. Plume, Assistant Collector	1,000 00
Hiram Perry, Surveyor	150 00
Ely Moore, Surveyor	2,900 00
S. Brewster, Deputy Surveyor	1,500 00
Andrew A. Jones, Chief Clerk	1,150 00
E. H. Sears, Second Clerk	1,150 00
Charles F. Lineback, Third Clerk	850 00
William Froment, Fourth Clerk	1,000 00
James W Carpenter, Fifth Clerk	70 00
R. Davenport, Messenger and Porter	600 00
William S. Coe, Naval Officer	3,000 00
George W. Coe, Deputy Naval Officer	1,500 00

CLERKS.

Elias B. Dayton	1,200	Wade Hough	1,050	Timothy F. Cooke	900
John Cockle	1,050	Abijah Ingraham	1,050	Joseph Crosthwaite	900
M. H. Van Dyck	1,050	Joshua S. Bowne	900	Jeremiah Green	600
Samuel Van Wyck	1,050	John V. Largee	900	Richard Kidney, jr	600
Samson M. Isaacks	1,050	Francis D. Swords	900	John H. Robins	375
George W. Gantz	1,050	Wm. C. Thompson	900	W. B. Rhodes, Porter	300
Samuel H. Moore	1,050				

"A formidable list, indeed!" as said Mr. BENTON and his committee in 1826 of the List of Officers of that day. An astounding list! say we. Look at the regiment of names comprised in the above enumeration! Look at the great amount of public money distributed among them! Compare this exhibit with that of the vilified (and falsified) Administration of Mr. ADAMS, and mark the difference! In Mr. ADAMS's time the whole number of officers employed in the collection of the customs (excluding the officers of the revenue cutter and the light-house keepers, not included in the late enumeration) was *one hundred and sixty-six*, and the aggregate amount of their compensations about *one hundred and twenty thousand dollars*: on the 20th of September last, the number of officers employed in the same duty was, as the reader will discover by counting them, FOUR HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-EIGHT, and the amount of their salaries (in round numbers) about FIVE HUNDRED AND FORTY THOUSAND DOLLARS.† Here we have an arithmetical demonstration of the true difference of value between profession and practice—between the *aristocracy* and *extravagance* of the Administration of Mr. J. Q. ADAMS, and the DEMOCRACY and SEVERE ECONOMY of that of Mr. VAN BUREN. Do politicians ever blush! Do they ever hang their heads for shame? After this exposition of the utter falsity of all the pretensions of his party, how dare any SPOILS-MAN look an honest People in the face?

We will, however, spare the reader any commentary of our own upon the profusion and waste of public money which is disclosed in the preceding statement; nor will we detain him by expatiating upon the obvious intent and purpose of such a multiplication of pensioners upon the Government in the city of New York, where parties are known to be

[* The sums to the Weighers, Gaugers, Measurers, and Markers are here put down agreeably to the returns of those officers for the fees on the cargoes of vessels which arrived during the year; but each officer of his class receives an equal division of the aggregate amount of fees of that class.

† So far, be it observed, from this increase of Government patronage and expenditure being demanded by an augmentation of the customs, the reverse is the fact. The revenue from the customs has greatly fallen off since 1826.

so nearly divided that the addition or reduction of a score or two of custom-house officers might sometimes decide the fate of an election. We find a *commentary before the fact* in the remarks with which Mr. BENTON accompanied his exposition of the dangers of Executive patronage, at a time when it was at least kept within some bounds. No one can read the following passages of the Report without being struck by the wonderfully prophetic spirit which pervades them:

"To be able to show to the Senate a full and perfect view of the power and workings of Federal patronage, the committee addressed a note, immediately after they were charged with this inquiry, to each of the Departments, and to the Postmaster General, requesting to be informed of the whole number of persons employed, and the whole amount of money paid out, under the direction of their respective departments. The answers received are herewith submitted, and made part of this report. With the BLUE BOOK, they will discover enough to show that the predictions of those who were not blind to the defects of the Constitution are ready to be realized: that the power and influence of *Federal* patronage, contrary to the argument in the '*Federalist*,' is an overmatch for the power and influence of *State* patronage; that its workings will contaminate the purity of all elections, and enable the Federal Government, eventually, to govern throughout the States, as effectually as if they were so many provinces of one vast empire.

"The whole of this great power will centre in the President. The King of England is the 'fountain of honor;' the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of Federal appointments, jobs, and contracts. He has 'power' over the 'support' of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chuses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and may dismiss them, and, upon all the principles of human action, will dismiss them, as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to State and Federal offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check and control of the Senate, without new constitutional or statutory provisions, will cease to operate. Patronage will penetrate this body, subdue its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily, and much more securely with than without, the nominal check of the Senate. If the President was himself the officer of the People, elected by them, and responsible to them, there would be less danger from this concentration of all power in his hands; but it is the business of statesmen to act upon things as they are, and not as they would wish them to be. We must then look forward to the time when the public revenue will be doubled; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government will be quadrupled, [they have been already all but quadrupled without waiting for the increase of revenue;] when its influence over individuals will be multiplied to an indefinite extent; when the nomination by the President can carry any man through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry any measure through the two Houses of Congress; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed, the President wants my vote, and I want his patronage; I will vote as he wishes, and he will give me the office I wish for. What will this be but the Government of one man? and what is the Government of one man but *a monarchy?* Names are nothing. The nature of a thing is in its substance, and the name soon accomodates itself to the substance."

"Those who make the President must support him. Their political fate becomes identified, and they must stand or fall together. Right or wrong, they must support him; and if he is made contrary to the will of the people, he must be supported not only by votes and speeches, but by arms."

We have thus seen, by one illustration, what sort of confidence is due to the professions, by the ruling party in the Government, of *democracy, economy, &c.* Nor will it be in the power of the party to shelter itself behind Congress, and, as is their wont, throw the blame on the Legislature for having forced this expenditure upon the Executive against its will. This is an expenditure which Congress has had no hand in. It is one for which Congress is not called upon to make appropriations, because the salaries are *paid out of the revenue before it reaches the Treasury.* This list of officeholders, therefore, with its long array of salaries and emoluments, never passes under the review of Congress at all. The compensation of Inspectors, Weighers, &c., is indeed fixed by law, but the number is dependent on the unrestrained will and pleasure of the Executive; no account is rendered to Congress whether, after being appointed and salaried, they really do daily duty in their places, or spend their time in electioneering to maintain their employers in power. Some of them, it is notorious, perform little more official duty than the signing receipts for their salaries, their more important duties being those of taking care of the interests of "the party" at home and abroad, the city of New York being too narrow a field for their useful labors. Education to and adaption for their ostensible employments are by no means indispensable requisites for employments in the custom-house. If they had been, SAMUEL SWARTWOUT would never, by having the grave and highly responsible office of Collector of the port of New York thrust upon him, have been subjected to the temptation of embezzling for his share a million and a quarter of dollars of the public money.

Nor is it by their personal services and influence alone that the officers of the customs are expected to help "the party" at the polls. Of the amount received from the public chest in the shape of emoluments of office they are expected to pay back into the party fund a *pro rata* amount for electioneering purposes. This was in evidence before the committee appointed two years ago to investigate the defalcations in the New York Custom-house; and, as readers are apt to forget things which they have only casually or cursorily read, we turn to the report of that investigation, in order to refresh the reader's memory by the following extracts from the evidence taken before the committee, establishing the fact of the taxation for party operations to which the custom-house officers in New York are subjected.

ARENT S. DEPEYSTER examined.

Question. While you were connected with the custom-house, do you know whether or not the officers of the customs were called upon to pay any part of their salaries, or any assessment or tax thereon, for party or political purposes? If yea, state whether you have ever, and when you have, made any such payment; and state the motive upon which such payments were made.

Answer. The weighers were called on to pay fifteen dollars each for the support of the election; and when I declined, Mr. Vanderpoel, the deputy surveyor, observed that I ought to consider whether my $1,500 per annum was not worth paying fifteen dollars for. Under the impression that it was the price of my situation, I paid it. The above occurred during the last spring election for charter officers.

During my holding office, for about five years, I was occasionally called on, but always declined until within the last two years.

Question. Do you know whether other subordinate officers besides yourself, in the custom-house, were called on and required to pay such tax or assessment upon their salaries, for the use of party and political purposes?

Answer. Only by hearsay, as it regards the other officers; but I saw many of the weighers pay the tax of fifteen dollars.

Question. Was the money thus collected from you and others to be used for political purposes? If yea, for which of the then and present political parties?

Answer. It was intended to be used to support the election of persons attached to the present administration

ABRAHAM B. VANDERPOEL examined.

Question. Do you know whether the officers of the custom-house have ever been called on to contribute sums of money to party and political objects? what officers have been so called on; by whom, for what amount; with or without regard to their salaries of office; when did they contribute; if they refused, was any intimation given that their refusal might occasion their removal; what amount has been so contributed or collected, and for the support of what party, at any one election?

This interrogatory was objected to by Mr. Foster.

Mr. Foster called for the yeas and nays.

The question, Shall the interrogatory be propounded? was put, and decided in the affirmative.

Yeas—Messrs. Curtis, Dawson, Harlan, Smith, Wise—5.

Nays—Messrs. Foster, Owens, Wagener—3.

Other proceedings were had, in regard to which Mr. Wise offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That the following facts be entered on the journal:

Mr. Wise propounded to the witness, Abraham B. Vanderpoel, the following question, to wit

Question. Do you know whether the officers of the custom-house have ever been called on to contribute sums of money to party and political objects; what officers have so been called upon; by whom, for what amount; with or without regard to their salaries of office; when did they contribute; if they refused, was any intimation given that their refusal might occasion their removal; what amount has so been contributed or collected, and for the support of what party, at any one election?

The witness took the interrogatory, without objection to propounding the same, and proceeded to write his answer thereto on the paper attached to the question; and had written the following, to wit:

"I have known officers attached to the custom-house to have been called on for"—when Mr. Owens, member of the committee, interposed and informed the witness that he was not bound to answer any interrogatory relating to his private affairs; and thereupon Mr. Foster, another member of the committee, objected to propounding the interrogatory. The witness here commenced to tear off what he had written before objection was made to the interrogatory. Mr. Wise prevented him from doing so, by forbidding the act. Mr. Foster insisted that the witness had the right to tear off what he had written, and that it was not his answer until it was complete and handed in, and he asked the witness whether it was his answer, and he replied, "it was not;" and the committee having decided that the interrogatory should be propounded, the said question by Mr. Wise was again handed to the witness, and he returned the following: "I decline to answer the 2d question." The witness was then permitted to retire.

Mr. Curtis called for the yeas and nays; and the resolution was adopted.

Yeas—Messrs. Curtis, Dawson, Foster, Harlan, Owens, Smith, Wagener, Wise—8

Nays—None.

DAVID S. LYON examined.

Question. Whilst you were deputy collector at the port of New York, were you ever called on, as an officer of the custom-house, to contribute any sum or sums of money to party or political objects? If so, what amount? Was such amount, from you, called for in consideration of your salary from Government? What proportion did it bear to your salary? Did you pay it? If not, why not? Who called for such contributions? Were other subordinates in the custom-house, to your knowledge, called on to contribute in like manner? For the support of what party were these contributions called for? Was any menace, directly or indirectly, of removal, held over these officers or yourself, for failures to grant such contributions?

Mr. Owens objected to the interrogatory.

The question, Shall the interrogatory be propounded? was put, and decided in the affirmative, the yeas and nays having been called for by Mr. Owens.

Yeas—Messrs. Curtis, Dawson, Harlan, Smith, Wise—5.

Nays—Messrs. Owens, Wagener—2.

Answer. I have frequently been called on to contribute to political objects while I was deputy collector, as an officer of the custom-house. The amount was from twenty dollars to one hundred dollars. The tax was *pro rata*, according to salary. It bore a proportion of from one to six per cent. I frequently paid a part of the amount; when it was too high, and more than I could afford, I urged them to reduce it. In one instance, where I was assessed twenty dollars, Mr. Swartwout told the collector of the tax that ten dollars was enough for me to pay. For a few years back I have not paid any thing to the general committee, because I could not afford to pay the amount assessed, and because I could not conscientiously longer sustain the party. The collectors of the Tammany Hall general committee, one of whom was John Becker, called on me several times. William Tyack once or twice called on me to collect the amount with which I was assessed: he was not the regular collector, but was one of the general committee. I believe that nearly all the officers of the custom-house, in divers and out, and the clerks, were similarly taxed, and generally paid what they were assessed. It was assessed by the general committee of Tammany Hall, and for the support of the party denominated the Tammany Hall party. If the individual did not pay the amount he was taxed with, the collector would remark, "You will be reported to the general committee;" and every body well understood that proscription whould follow. The collector of the general committee has an alphabetical book, which contains the names of persons taxed, and the amount each individual is required to pay.

We have confined our examination of the growth and extent of Executive patronage under our present and late rulers to the New York Custom-house, only because it was the

case selected for illustration by themselves fourteen years ago. We have little doubt that correspondent extravagance would, upon examination, be found to exist in other branches of the public service. In the Indian Department, for example, it is believed the most corrupt practices have prevailed, and the most extravagant and wasteful expenditures have been made, especially in the making and executing of treaties. At this moment, it is asserted, there are hundreds of thousands of dollars of Indian appropriations unaccounted for, in the hands of individuals, who have had the gratuitous use of it, some of them for a number of years.

But Mr. BENTON's committee did not confine themselves exclusively to the expenditures of the New York Custom house. They obtained from the several great public offices at the seat of Government accounts of their contingent expenditures, in printing and advertising, &c. Upon these they did not, in their report, pass any direct censure. Nor, in truth, was there any room for it. Under no Administration up to that of General JACKSON, had the Executive patronage of the press been regarded as the means of purchasing, hiring, or retaining political partisans. A certain amount of printing and advertising was done under the orders of different public offices, because it was indispensable to the conduct of the public business, and it was paid for at no higher or other rates than individuals are obliged to pay for similar services. Except in an honorary point of view, the custom of the Government was, for a great many years after our first acquaintance with it, any thing but desirable to publishers of newspapers.

Mr. BENTON and Mr. VAN BUREN had, however, in all probability, other views of this matter, when they called for the names of all printers employed to do business for the different public offices, with the amounts paid to each, (which were not then, as they now are, included in the Blue Book.) It is certain, at least, that other views of the subject were entertained by the political confederates of those gentlemen in the year following, when a debate of three weeks' duration took place upon the expediency of changing the mode of designating the newspapers in which the laws shall be published; it being by law, at that time, as it is now, and with obvious propriety, the duty of the Secretary of State to make such designation. The number of publishers of the laws to be so designated was and still is fixed by law; and the amount of compensation (also fixed by law) which so roused the jealousy of the pretended democracy of that day as to incite them to a systematic war upon it, does not exceed an average of one hundred dollars a year for each press, not more than is annually paid by many persons in the private ways and walks of life for their individual advertising.

This enormous patronage of the press savored too much of Executive influence for the taste of the disinterested patriots in Congress, who had combined their wits to wrest the "barren sceptre" of power from the hands of Mr. ADAMS, and turn it to a more profitable use in their own. It is even supposed that the allusion in the Inaugural Address of General JACKSON to "the patronage of the Government" being brought "in conflict with the freedom of elections" had reference to this branch of Executive patronage; an idea ludicrous enough, certainly, when we consider for a moment what was afterwards the practice of his administration, from its first start, when he appointed AMOS KENDALL and other party printers to some of the best offices of the Government, down to his testamentary act on retiring from office, by which he imposed as a duty upon his successor in office the patronage and support of the press which he had established at the seat of Government, and supported by the means of Executive patronage lavished upon it by every conduit under his control. However that may be, the alleged danger to public liberty from the immense patronage of the press wielded by the Secretary of State became, in the early part of the year 1827, the subject of one of the most excited debates that had ever occurred in the Representative Chamber. The ground of the debate thus brought on by the Opposition of that day was the fact that the Secretary of State had changed the publishers of the laws in ten cases out of the whole list of publishers, which was seventy-nine.

It is truly ludicrous, again, that the House of Representatives,

> "Like Ocean into tempest toss'd
> "To waft a feather or to drown a fly,"

should have been thrown into a ferment by so moderate an exercise of his legal discretion by the Secretary of State, when it is notorious that these same pretended democrats, when they got into power, changed the entire list of publishers of laws with a single dash of the pen, and would as soon have thought of being inoculated for the plague as of employing any man in any trust in the Government who was not as *purely* democratic as themselves. But so it was. On the 1st of February, 1827, came up for consideration the following resolution, moved by Mr. SAUNDERS, of North Carolina, (the discomfited candidate for Governor of that State at the late election:)

"*Resolved*, That the Secretary of State communicate to this House a list of such of the newspapers in each of the States in which the laws of Congress were directed to be published in the years 1825 and 1826 Also, a list of such in which the laws are directed to be published in 1827, designating the changes which have been made, and the reason for each change."

In support of this resolution Mr. SAUNDERS affirmed that "the gentleman now at the head of the State Department has been *guilty* of selecting papers more for political and personal objects than to give the greatest publicity to the laws," &c. This was the gist of the argument of the opposition throughout the debate.

"The effect of such a course of things (Mr. SAUNDERS said) was calculated to operate, not only on those who now print the laws, but on all those who might have any desire to print them By seeing those rewarded who had shown the most zeal in promoting the Secretary's views, they would naturally be taught to infer that if they displayed a zeal still more ardent they should have it conferred upon them.

"It was thus calculated to operate, and did actually operate, so far as it went, to control the freedom of the press, and to enlist throughout the country that powerful instrument in behalf of the views of the State Department. In this respect it was much more effectual and *much more dangerous than the far-famed alien and sedition laws*. The provisions of those laws were direct and tangible. They were open and seen of all; but the power to which he alluded operated directly, but was not seen so to operate."

It was the opinion of the party leaders of that day that the Executive was bound to give reasons for appointments and removals from office. [How utterly repugnant to the notions of the same party, now in power!]

"If (said Mr. HOUSTON in this debate) the head of the Department has any cause to show which will justify the course—the very extraordinary course—he has adopted, the House will, no doubt, be satisfied: and doubtless if he has such reasons to produce, he will not hesitate to lay them before us. But if he is to remain totally irresponsible—if his robe is not so much as to be touched—if his person is sanctified, and he has all the infallibility of the Pope—then, sir, let this House and this People talk no longer of their privileges."

Mr. POLK (now Governor of Tennessee) took an active part in this *great* debate. He was particularly indignant that the Secretary of State should have taken his patronage of a hundred dollars a year from one publisher in Tennessee and given it to another, &c.

"Though we have no alien and sedition laws, (said Mr. POLK,) are we to have what is tantamount to them? Are the public functionaries of the Government to be wrapt up in the robes of office, and to be held irresponsible to the People or the People's Representatives? And are all those who have firmness and independence enough fearlessly to inquire into the conduct of public men, and the manner in which the public money is expended, to be denounced, by the partisans and servile adherents of the House that now reigns, as factious oppositionists?"

Mr. HOUSTON, however, next to Mr. SAUNDERS, seems to have been the chief speaker on the opposition side in this debate. In reply to the very natural astonishment expressed by some of the Republicans, that so violent a storm should have raged during the morning hours of three whole weeks upon so insignificant a provocation, Mr. H. spoke as follows:

"But gentlemen affect no wonder how it happens that this is the only vigilant opposition which has had for its object the reform of the Government. He asks, where stood the sentinels on the ramparts in times past? Sir, there never existed, before the present, a more momentous period to the American People There never was a greater necessity for resisting the encroachments of Executive power, which attempts to prostrate, by the voice of its organs on this floor, every vestige of State independence which cannot be sapped by more secret means. Sir, when sovereign States of this Union are openly threatened, in their legislative capacity, and the Representaves of States openly admonished on this floor that if they act 'it will be at their peril;' thus, sir, when all of liberty that cannot be undermined by the VAST AND STILL SWELLING TIDE OF EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE is to be overcome by open violence, have we not abundant reason to look out from the watch-tower?"

Of this debate we have quoted enough to show the great alarm manifested by the opponents of the Adams Administration at the extent of Executive patronage, in connexion with the press, and their invincible repugnance to any use of that patronage which could, by any *presumption*, be traced to a party motive.

Let us next see what was the actual extent of expenditure, at the time referred to, under the direction of Executive officers, for newspapers, advertising and printing. In this case, as in the case of the Custom-house expenditures, we prefer, with Mr. BENTON's committee, to select a single department of the Government for examination; and, in making the selection, we make choice of that one in which the expenditures were entirely discretionary, and regulated and controlled by no law. We mean the POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT.

Among the documents obtained from the several Departments, and presented to the Senate by the committee to show the extent of Executive patronage, was a report from Postmaster General MCLEAN, dated 8th of March, 1826, from which we make the following extract:

"The printing of the Department, not including the publication of proposals for mail contracts, in the year 1823, amounted to $2,567 52; in the following year to $2,973 45; and in the year 1825, to $6,466 45. In this year, the amount was greatly increased by the printing of about ten thousand pamphlets, containing a statement of the Post Offices, &c., and about the same number of the Post Office laws, instructions, &c.

"The amount paid for the publication of proposals, as also the papers in which such publications were made, will appear from the papers enclosed, to which the committee are respectfully referred."

List of Post Offices where advertisements were published, by order of the Postmaster General, in 1825.

Post Offices.	Name of Newspaper or Publisher.	Amount paid.
Cahawba, Alabama	Account not rendered.	
Columbia, South Carolina	Telescope	$35 32
Frankfort, Kentucky	Dana and Halerman	63 37½
Indianapolis, Indiana	Douglas and Maguire	20 00
Jackson, Mississippi	Account not rendered.	
Jefferson city, Missouri	Ditto.	
Little Rock, Arkansas Territory	Ditto.	
Milledgeville, Georgia	Camak and Ragland	43 75
Murfreesboro', Tennessee	Account not rendered.	
Raleigh, North Carolina	Raleigh Register	40 00
Richmond, Virginia	Account not rendered.	
Pensacola, Florida Territory	Pensacola Gazette	45 00
Vincennes, Indiana	Elisha Stout	32 00
Annapolis, Maryland	Account not rendered.	
Harrisburg, Pennsylvania	in Pa. Intelligencer, 3d qr.	39 00
Trenton, New Jersey	in Tren. T. American, do.	12 00
Washington City	National Intelligencer	690 00
	National Journal	714 00
Albany, New York	Daily Ad. & Gaz., 3d qr.	66 30
Canandaigua, New York	D. C. Miller	80 50
	J. A. Stevens	80 50
Boston, Massachusetts	Patriot, 3d qr.	18 75
Columbus, Ohio	Ohio Monitor, 3d qr.	29 25
Concord, New Hampshire	Account not rendered.	
Dover, Delaware	Ditto.	
Montpelier, Vermont	E. P. Walton, pub., 3d qr.	19 05
Portland, Maine	Todd & Smith, do do	18 75
Harford, Connecticut	Goodwin & Co. do do	11 20
		$2,056 67

The expense of *printing* for three years preceding 1826, it appears, amounted to $12,007 42—or, averaging the years, to $4,002 47 (say four thousand dollars) a year. The cost of *advertising* for the single year immediately preceding 1826 was $2,056 67—the greater part of that sum being paid for the long advertisement of Proposals for carrying the mails, published annually in two newspapers at the seat of Government. This was the whole extent of Executive patronage dispensed to the press through the agency of the Post Office Department at the date of Mr. Benton's report. Yet this amount of expenditure for *advertising* was regarded with so jealous and distrustful an eye by Messrs. Benton and Van Buren, that of the objects proposed by the *bills* which that committee reported for the purpose of "trimming down the powers of the Executive by statutory enactments," one was "to regulate the publication of *public advertisements*."

Let us now turn to the Blue Book, and see what *reduction* in this description of public expenditure has been effected under the administration of Mr. Van Buren, and how far by such reduction the sphere of Executive influence has been contracted. And what do we find in reference to this matter in the Blue Book? We could hardly credit the evidence of our own senses; and our readers, we are sure, will partake of our astonishment when they read the following account of the *frugal* and *economical* rate of expenditure, for advertising, especially, which has been substituted by this *democratic* Administration for the pretended extravagance and prodigality of the *aristocratic* Administration upon whose fall Mr. Van Buren rose into power. Here is the proof of it:

FROM THE OFFICIAL REGISTER

Names of all Printers employed by the Post Office Department, with the Compensation allowed to each, for one year, ending 30th September last.

[Amount paid for advertising.]

S. Eichelberger	$613 50	Marston & Barker	$30 34	H. C. Bunce	$35 00
Park & Rogers	701 25	Quartus Graves	34 10	Jas. Clark & Co.	27 50
Gales & Thompson	564 77	Thomas Loring	29 75	A. Huger	7 80
Gaines & Murray	120 00	A. Greenleaf, jr.	32 55	Byers & Jordan	55 75
William Walters	42 00	Rix & Whittemore	26 94	J. Glessner	3 00
H. B. Grigsby	825 00	J. S. C. Knowlton	6 00	E. Devalcourt	30 00
D. Brown	175 50	Osborn & Baldwin	33 40	L. Eichelberger	15 00
H. A. Mitchell	7 81	L. E. Thompson	25 00	J. Bowyer	10 00
Mifflin & Parry	32 75	L. & F. Gifford	100 00	James Hagan	50 00
Hollis & Bennett	3 75	P. Dean Carrique	31 35	Edward Cole	33 75
Belser & Farmer	116 50	Britt & Brown	33 00	W. W. Leland	17 50
P. Allen & Son	4 00	Wm. C. Bryant	45 00	P. W. Ganter, jr.	45 00
Thomas Ritchie	36 00	O. H. Wells	24 37	Gales & Thompson	34 12
Thomas Loring	35 00	Albon Chase	40 04	C. Bayon & Wagner	108 00
D. Blocker	1 00	R. H. Stanton	35 62	F. S. Myer	225 15
Park & Rogers	76 50	Geo. R. Weber	25 00	T. Sanford	840 00
Beals & Green	45 62	Smith & Robinson	41 42	Messenger & Rollston	15 00
H. Haines	34 13	Beals & Green	10 00	Webb & Hutchinson	35 75
Jas. H Campbell	85 00	Jno. F. Hubbard	50 00	H. Bosee	75 00
D. Eichelberger	31 25	Letcher & Gillock	25 00	Isaac Snow	10 00
Nathan Hale	12 75	Pray & Thompson	52 27	P. B. Ankeny	205 00
I. N. Cardozo	609 68	Wm. B Anderson	84 50	Ramsay & Craighead	15 00
H. A. Mitchell	27 50	Joel M. Smith	48 33	E. Kingsbury, jr.	337 50
Morrill & Dinsmore	4 00	Daniel Bradford	54 37	J. G. & T. J. McLain	1 16
John Busk	19 50	Wm. Walters	90 00	Ott & Weber	152 75
M. Spooner	7 25	J. Wentworth	69 75	Wm. B. Anderson	48 75
David Brown	52 50	Karnes & Bassett	91 06	Harker & Busk	210 37
H. B. Grigsby	45 00	D. W. Whitehurst	22 50	John M. Spencer	619 25
Forsyth & Kibby	232 50	W. W. Leland	72 50	A. H. Pemberton	80 62
Gales & Thompson	68 84	Jno. M. Tillotson	30 80	J. Livingston	780 00
W. C. Bryant & Co.	34 50	Campbell & Wilson	45 00	G. S. Gilbert	10 00
Thomas Loring	18 75	W. H. Gray	97 00	Wm. & Geo. Johnson	85 00
Edward J. Hale	12 00	Brown & Lindsay	57 50	Jos. Justice & Son	133 50
L. E. Thompson	33 25	Noonan & Sholes	25 00	Mifflin & Parry	757 00
Penn & Elliot	36 50	G. S. Gilbert	15 00	J. P. Magill	866 25
W. E. Woodruff	12 50	Joseph Justice	46 50	Jack & McElroy	757 00
R. C. Green	6 25	Besancon & Haliday	72 50	Geo. W. Sherwood	146 75
Geo. W. Wood	10 00	Thomas Ritchie	19 50	Dawson & Fisher	587 12
W. A. Hawley	3 50	Benj. Hayes	50 62	D. K. Lightner	259 00
D. C. Goodale & J. Cobb	13 58	Edw. Cole	52 50	C. B. H. Fessenger	182 25
Lawson Gifford	25 00	J. Livingston	40 00	Joseph Pough	133 00
C. E. Bartlett	60 00	Cyrus Barton	36 00	T. B. Crowell	133 00
Knowles & Hutchins	210 00	Bishop & Winslow	26 25	S. & M. H. Medary	614 25
Jno. C. Haswell	90 00	Prentiss & Weising-er, Penn & Elliot, and J. E. Brown	21 00	Boas & Coplan	760 50
English, Brown & Lindsay	10 00	Zim & Miller	50 00	A. H. & W. F. Pemberton	3 18
Wm. E. Woodruff	26 00	Hale & Eaton	70 00	J. W. Shugert	594 75
Jno. A. Stuart	37 85	Mitchell & Burr	59 47	A. S. Willington & Co.	27 30
P. Allen & Son	28 67	P. Woodson, jr.	62 50	E. Stout & Son	5 00
Holden & Appleton	35 00	Penn & Elliott	97 75	McGonogh & Dimick	614 25
Fisk & Cunningham	36 25				

[Amount paid for printing blanks.]

S. Medary & Bros.	$1,949 23	Paine & Clark	$738 45	F. S. Myer	$197 10
Mifflin & Parry	531 25	James Rice, jr.	319 12	F. S. Myer	68 49
Beals & Green	2,164 41	S. Penn, jr.	555 83	Mifflin & Parry	541 25
Cyrus Barton	556 11	J. Elliot	500 00	Beals & Green	1,706 37
S. Penn, jr.	435 67	Mifflin & Parry	846 75	S. Medary & Bros	1,837 50
Paine & Clark	833 02	S. Medary & Bros.	1,079 67	Cyrus Barton	715 45
James Rice	19 50	Beals & Green	1,633 80	Paine & Clark	549 20
Mifflin & Parry	450 87	S. Penn, jr.	199 00	F. S. Myer	81 00
Beals & Green	1,846 00	Paine & Clark	713 23	S. Penn, jr.	853 00
Cyrus Barton	645 10	Cyrus Barton	699 07	F. S. Myer	168 00
S. Medary & Bros.	1,612 24	James Rice	371 25	S. Peen, jr.	489 95
S. Penn, jr.	271 00	S. Penn, jr.	556 78		

[NOTE.—This list, large as it is, must yet be incomplete, the amount of printing and advertising by the publishers of the Globe being entirely omitted. The reader must be content to imagine that amount, as well as other probable omissions, and add to the rest.]

Whatever may be held back in the composition of this part of the Blue Book, by accident or by contrivance, (such, for instance, as suspending the payment of accounts until after the *list* was made out for "the book,") enough is disclosed to show a prodigal use of the public money for the purpose of establishing or pensioning party presses. Of all the names of persons who have received the public money for advertising during the past year, how many are known, even to those of their own vocation, as publishers of newspapers of any such circulation as would recommend or even justify the Department in publishing its advertisements in them? It is not to be doubted that a Post Office advertisement, yielding

an emolument of from two or three to seven or eight hundred dollars, would be an acceptable annual gratification to the printer of any weekly paper of a circulation of three or four hundred papers, confined, perhaps, to the limits of a single county: it cannot be doubted that upon the inducement of such a douceur (sufficient to pay the whole annual expenditure of such a paper) a subservient party press might be established where none existed before; but who is there that will undertake to justify such employment of the public money, under the pretence of advertising for proposals for contracts for carrying the mail in parts of the country where perhaps none but a weekly horse-mail is to be carried, or in those in which the Post Office call for proposals is already abundantly circulated through the regular official channel? It is too plain, upon the face of this list, to be susceptible of doubt, in the mind of those at least who have any general knowledge of the public press, that the greater part of the above disbursements of the public money are in reality *for party purposes*, and for no other. In many an instance, we have no doubt, (we may almost say, we *know*,) nothing is known at the Post Office of these expenditures but that some member of Congress, or some influential personage not in Congress, has *advised* such an application of the public money, the intent of it being to confirm a wavering, or to sustain a tottering, press. Of the amount paid for printing blanks, the reader will perceive at a glance, the most considerable sums of money have been all paid to the publishers of the most zealous party papers in different populous cities.

Every reader will be contented, we presume, with this evidence of the *sincerity* of Mr. Van Buren and his friends in both Houses of Congress in their expressions of alarm at the extent of the Executive patronage in 1826, and in their clamor for reform, and especially for "the correction of those abuses which have brought the patronage of the Government in conflict with the freedom of elections."

Out upon such hypocrisy!

But the most serious objection taken by the Van Buren party (of 1826) in the House of Representatives was, that the enormous patronage of one hundred dollars a year (a bare equivalent, if so much, for the actual labor required) to each publisher of the laws had been employed by the Executive with the intent to favor the friends of the Administration; inasmuch as, in one year, 1825, as appeared by one of the documents accompanying Mr. Benton's Report, the publication of the laws had been transferred from one newspaper to another in ten cases out of the whole number (being seventy-nine.) It was the principle, and not the amount involved in this fact, which in their opinion endangered the liberties of the country. Yes, it was the principle of *removal from office* which most offended their delicate olfactories. This abuse must be reformed, said they:

"Th' offence is rank, and smells to Heaven."

And how, when soon afterwards, by means of this clamor and these pretences, they came into power—these sensitive patriots, who had snuffed corruption "in the tainted gale"—how did they reform this particular abuse? Let us see.

Besides removing all the high Cabinet Ministers, which was done on the first day after the inauguration of President, (and to which no exception is taken,) the Jackson-Van Buren Administration, by removals from office, within that year, filled with its own political friends and partisans the following offices, viz:

Minister Plenipotentiary to Colombia.*
Minister Plenipotentiary to Great Britain.
Minister Plenipotentiary to France.
Minister Plenipotentiary to the Netherlands.
Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain.
Chargé d'Affaires to Mexico.
Chargé d'Affaires to Sweden.
Chargé d'Affaires to Peru.
Secretary of Legation to Great Britain.
Secretary of Legation to France.
Secretary of Legation to the Netherlands.
Secretary of Legation to Colombia.
First Assistant Postmaster General.
Second Assistant Postmaster General.
Second Comptroller of the Treasury.
Second Auditor of the Treasury.
Fourth Auditor of the Treasury.
Treasurer of the United States.
Register of the Treasury.
Judge of Territory of Arkansas.
Treasurer of Mint United States.
Marshals of the United States for the Districts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Louisiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, and Missouri.
Attorneys of the United States for the Districts of Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, New Jersey, Lousiana, Kentucky, Virginia, Tennessee, Missouri, New Hampshire, Connecticut, New York, Alabama, Indiana, Florida.

* It is remarkable enough that the only public officer removed by President Jackson, on the very first day of his entering upon the discharge of his duties (besides the heads of Departments) was General Wm. Henry Harrison, Minister to Colombia.

Collectors and Surveyors of the Customs, Naval (Revenue) Officers, and Appraisers, as follows: In Maine, three; New Hampshire, one; Massachusetts, nine; Vermont, one; Connecticut, one; New York, eleven; New Jersey, one; Pennsylvania, two; Delaware, one; Maryland, three; District of Columbia, two; Virginia, one; North Carolina, two; Louisiana, four; Western States and Territories, six.

Indian Agents, six.

Navy Agents, three.

Receivers and Registers of Land Offices, twenty-six.

Consuls for foreign ports, twenty-one.

Clerks, &c. in public offices at the seat of Government, number large, but not accurately known.

POSTMASTERS, *four hundred and ninety-one*, viz.

In Maine, fifteen.
In New Hampshire, fifty-five.
In Vermont, twenty-two.
In Massachusetts, twenty-eight.
In Rhode Island, three.
In Connecticut, twenty.
In New York, one hundred and thirty-one.
In New Jersey, fourteen.
In Pennsylvania, thirty-five.
In Delaware, sixteen.
In Maryland fourteen.
In District of Columbia, one.
In Virginia, eight.
In North Carolina, four.
In Georgia, two.
In Alabama, two.
In Mississippi, five.
In Louisiana, four.
In Tennessee, twelve.
In Kentucky, sixteen.
In Ohio, fifty-one.
In Indiana, nineteen.
In Illinois, three.
In Missouri, seven.
In Florida, one.
In Arkansas, two.
In Michigan, one.

Besides these direct removals from office by the Executive, there was a host of removals of such persons as held office by secondary appointments, such as clerks, inspectors, &c., in the Custom-house, whom we have no means of numbering. We have a statement before us, however, which may afford the reader some idea of the extent of the proscription in their case. In the Custom-house at Boston alone, out of fifty-eight persons employed in different capacities, FORTY were removed!

Such was the slashing operation of the first year's Administration of the pretended Democracy. What was the further extent of the "reform"—the *task* which, President JACKSON said in his inaugural, was "inscribed on the list of Executive duties in characters too legible to be overlooked," we have not time at present to follow out through the succeeding years of the improved Administration of the Government.

Nor have we time to compose a homily upon the virtues of disinterestedness, consistency, meekness, charity, and forbearance exhibited in such interesting lights in this chapter of political history. Neither shall we here debate upon the effect and consequences, any more than upon the character and complexion of the motives of the principal actors in this scene of proscription. Happily we find these so truly and plainly portrayed in a public document now before us that it will be a happy relief to our readers to meet with what is so applicable, from so able a hand, instead of ours. In a report made in the Senate on the 9th of February, 1835, by Mr. CALHOUN, as chairman of a select committee appointed "to inquire into the extent of the Executive patronage, the causes which have contributed to its great increase of late," &c. we find the following striking passages:

"But as greatly as these causes [increase of public expenditures, &c.] have added to the force of patronage of late, there are others of a different nature, which have contributed to give it a far greater and more dangerous influence. At the head of these should be placed the practice so greatly extended, if not for the first time introduced, of removing from office persons well qualified, and who had faithfully performed their duty, in order to fill their places with those who are recommended on the ground that they belong to the party in power.

"Your committee feel that they are touching ground which may be considered of a party character, and which, were it possible, consistently with the discharge of their duty, they would wholly avoid, as their object is to inquire into facts only, as contributing to increase the patronage of the Executive, without looking to intention, or desiring to cast censure on those in power; but while they would cautiously avoid any remark of a party character, as inconsistent with the gravity of the subject, and incompatible with the intention of the Senate in directing the inquiry, they trust that they are incapable of shrinking from the performance of the important and solemn duty confided to them, of thoroughly investigating to the bottom a subject involving, as they believe, the fate of our political institutions and the liberty of the country, by declining to investigate, fully and freely as regards its character and consequence, every measure or practice of the Government connected with the inquiry, whether it has or has not been a subject of party controversy.

"In speaking of the practice of removing from office on party ground as of recent date, and, of course, comprehended under the causes which have of late contributed to the increase of Executive patronage, your committee are aware that cases of such removals may be found in the early stages of the Government; but they are so few, and exercised so little influence, that they may be said to constitute instances rather than as forming a practice. It is only within the last few years that removals from office have been introduced as

a system, and, for the first time, an opportunity has been afforded of testing the tendency of the practice, and witnessing the mighty increase which it has given to the force of Executive patronage, and the entire and fearful change, in conjunction with other causes, it is effecting in the character of our political system. Nor will it require much reflection to perceive in what manner it contributes to increase so vastly the extent of Executive patronage.

"So long as offices were considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the honest, the faithful, and capable, for the common good, and not for the benefit or gain of the incumbent or his party, and so long as it was the practice of the Government to continue in office those who faithfully performed their duties, its patronage, in point of fact, was limited to the mere power of nominating to accidental vacancies or to newly-created offices, and could, of course, exercise but a moderate influence, either over the body of the community or of the office-holders themselves: but when this practice was reversed—when offices, instead of being considered as public trusts, to be conferred on the deserving, were regarded as *the spoils of victory*, to be bestowed as rewards for partisan services, without respect to merit; when it became to be understood that all who held office hold by the tenure of partisan zeal and party service, it is easy to see that the certain, direct, and inevitable tendency of such a state of things is to convert the entire body of those in office into corrupt and supple instruments of power, and to raise up a host of hungry, greedy, and subservient partisans, ready for every service, however base and corrupt. Were a premium offered for the best means of extending to the utmost the power of patronage; to destroy the love of country, and to substitute a spirit of subserviency and man-worship; to encourage vice and discourage virtue; and, in a word, to prepare for the subversion of liberty, and the establishment of despotism, no scheme more perfect could be devised; and such must be the tendency of the practice, with whatever intention adopted, or to whatever extent pursued."

Mr. CALHOUN, in this report, refers to cases of removals which may be found in the early stages of the Government, which he justly remarks are so *few*, and exercised so little influence, that they may be said to constitute instances of exception rather than as forming a practice. Few indeed were they! In the eight years' administration of Mr. MADISON, they numbered only *fourteen*; in the eight years of Mr. MONROE, only *thirteen*; and in the four years of JOHN Q. ADAMS, only THREE!* What was the number during a single year of the Administration of the party which succeeded in putting down an Administration which made so "few" removals, the reader will have learned from the preceding enumeration.

As if to afford to posterity a standard by which men should in all time to come be able to measure, with the greatest precision, the distance between the professions and practices of ambitious demagogues, the Senate committee of 1826 proposed, along with their *six bills* of retrenchment and reform, *an amendment to the Constitution* to prevent the appointment of Members of Congress to civil office under the General Government, to which their report refers as follows:

"The committee have also reported another proposition of amendment, intended to exclude Senators and Representatives from appointment to civil offices under the authority of the Federal Government; and this proposition they will not despair of seeing referred to the consideration and decision of the People."

This is the standard of the pretended "democracy," set up in the year 1826, by its leaders, Messrs. BENTON and VAN BUREN. And here is the evidence of the fidelity of the same party to the principles under the name and garb of which they came into power:

Appointments of Members of Congress to Office since the beginning of Gen. Jackson's Administration.

Martin Van Buren, of N. Y. Secretary of State.
Samuel D. Ingham, of Pa. Secretary of the Treasury.
John H. Eaton, of Tenn. Secretary of War.
John Branch, of N. C. Secretary of the Navy.
John M. Berrien, of Geo. Attorney General.
Wm. C. Rives, of Va. Minister to France.
Louis McLane, of Del. Minister to England.
Levi Woodbury, of N. H. Secretary of the Navy.
John Randolph, of Va. Minister to Russia.
Mahlon Dickerson, of N. J. Secretary of the Navy.
John Forsyth, of Geo. Secretary of State.
Felix Grundy, of Tenn. Attorney General.
Edward Livingston of La. Secretary of State.
Powhatan Ellis, of Miss. Minister to Mexico.
John McKinley, of Ala. Judge Supreme Court.
S. R. Hobbie, of N. Y. Assistant Postmaster General.
John Finlay, of Pa. Postmaster at Chambersburg.
Thos. P. Moore, of Ky. Minister to Colombia.
H. A. Muhlenberg, of Pa. Minister to Austria.
Andrew Stevenson, of Va. Minister to England.
John Chandler, of Me. Collector of Portland & Falmouth.
Wm. Smith, of S. C. Judge Supreme Court.
John Anderson, of Me. Collector of Portland.
James W. Ripley of Me. Captain of Ordnance.
C. C. Cambreleng, of N. Y. Minister to Russia.
Hector Craig, of N. Y. Surveyor Port of New York.
Chas. G. De Witt, of N. Y. Minister to Guatemala.
Wm. Wilkins, of Pa. Minister to Russia.
James Buchanan, of Pa. Minister to Russia.
Geo. M. Dallas, of Pa. Minister to Russia.
Thos. H. Crawford, of Pa. Indian Commissioner, &c.
Wiley Thompson, of Geo. Indian Commissioner.
James M. Wayne, of Geo. Judge Supreme Court.
Nicholas D. Coleman, of Ky. Postmaster.
Philip P. Barbour, of Va. Judge Supreme Court.
Jno. G. Stower, of N. Y. Attorney or Marshal of Ala.
Francis Baylies, of Mass. Charge d'Affaires to Buenos Ayres.
Edward Kavanagh, of Me. Minister to Portugal.
Edw. A. Hannegan, of Ind. Register of Land Office.
Thomas Irwin, of Pa. Judge of District Court.
John Biddle, of Mich. Receiver of Land Office.
Geo. W. Owen, of Ala. Collector of Mobile.
R. H. Gillet, of N. Y. Indian Commission.
Joseph Hall, of Me. Custom-house officer at Boston,
Edward Lucas, of Va. Sup't Harper's Ferry Armory.
Jesse Miller, of Pa. First Auditor.
Gorham Parks, of Me. Marshal.
Michael W. Ash, of Pa. Navy Agent.
Benj. C. Howard, of Md. Commissioner about Michigan Boundary.
Andrew T. Judson, of Conn. Judge of District Court.
Humphrey H. Leavitt, of O. Judge of District Court
Ely Moore, of N. Y. Surveyor of Customs.
Isaac H. Bronson, of N. Y. Judge in Florida.
Samuel Cushman, of N. H. Postmaster at Portsmouth
Samuel J. Gholson, of Miss. District Judge.
Robert T. Lytle, of O. Surveyor General.

* Executive Documents. House of Representatives, 1st Session 26th Congress, Document No. 132.

Isaac S. Pennybacker, of Va. District Judge.
Arnold Plumer, of Pa. Marshal.
Nathl. Garrow, of N. Y. Marshal.
Geo. Loyall, of Va. Navy Agent.
Leonard Jarvis, of Me. Navy Agent.
George W. Jones, of Wisconsin, Surveyor General.
Wm. Findlay, of Pa. Treasurer of Mint.
Jeremus Johnson, of N. Y. Appraiser.
Wilson Lumpkin, of Geo. Indian Agent.
Thos. Maxwell, of N. Y. Postmaster at Elmyra.

[The greater part of the names included in this list were Members of Congress at the time of their appointment. Others had very recently been, and none of them, it is believed, but would have come within the space of two years after service in Congress.]

Thus it is that the party in power have falsified all their professions, and thereby converted this Government into a mere machine for raising revenue for the reward, support, and gratification of a host of office-holders, who in return devote all the ability and energy with which nature has endowed them to perpetuate their ill-gotten power. As now administered, not only is the Government just such a machine, but the design is not concealed to keep it such; and, if the party succeed in re-electing its President, and follow the indications from its powerful leaders, we shall beyond doubt have a beautiful illustration, before long, of the Locofoco beau-ideal of Government, or, as Mr. Attorney General BUTLER described it, of "A PURE AND EARNEST DEMOCRACY, ILLUMINATED BY THE SOUNDEST PRINCIPLES OF POLITICAL ECONOMY."

Just such a Democracy, or a Democracy in many points resembling it, France for a brief period once enjoyed the blessing of. Some of its maxims have come down to us in history; one of which is, that no man should be richer than another, and another that the spoils of the Aristocrats belong of right to the Sans-culottes. Perhaps, however, a scrap of that history will illustrate the points of resemblance between the two systems better than any thing that we can say. We conclude this article, therefore, with the following extract:

FROM MOORE'S JOURNAL OF THE FRENCH REVOLUTION.

"SEPT. 13, 1792.—The character of some of the Deputies already chosen by the Department of Paris does not tend to convey high expectations of the ensuing Convention. MARAT is of the number; he is supposed to have obtained his honor partly by his own popularity among the low classes, and partly through the influence of a faction, at the head of which are Danton, the Minister of Justice, and Robespierre. As the reputation of Marat was not of pure white previous to the 2d of September, and has been considered as of a scarlet hue since, it was thought necessary to prepare the minds of the electors, and endeavor to conciliate them in his favor, before the day of election. For this purpose Chabot, who was formerly a Franciscan friar, has been since a patriotic orator, and is already chosen a Deputy to the Convention, made an oration in his favor in the Society of Jacobins, of which many of the electors are members. As this discourse is certainly of a very extraordinary nature, and as it discovers the disposition both of the orator and of the person he recommends, I shall give the following passage from it:

"MARAT is reproached with being of a sanguinary disposition; that he contributed, for example, to the late massacres in the prisons; but, in doing so, he acted in the true spirit of the revolution; for it was not to be expected that, while our bravest patriots went to the frontiers, we should remain here exposed to the rage of the prisoners, who were promised arms and the opportunity of assassinating us. We are told that he is sanguinary, because oftener than once he demanded the blood of the aristocrats, and also that of the corrupt members of the Constituent Assembly. But it is well known that the plan of the aristocrats always has been, and still is, to make a general carnage of the sans culottes. Now, as the number of the latter is to that of the former in the proportion of ninety-nine to one, it is evident that he who proposes to kill one, to prevent the killing of ninety-nine, is not a bloodthirsty man. Neither can he justly be called an incendiary, for he proposed to give the spoils of the aristocrats to the sans-culottes! How, then, can he be accused of wishing to harm them?"

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

MAY 4, 1826.

Mr. BENTON, from the Select Committee to which was referred the proposition to inquire into the expediency of reducing the Patronage of the Executive Government of the United States, made the following

REPORT:

That, after mature deliberation, the Committee are of opinion that it is expedient to diminish, or to regulate, by law, the Executive Patronage of the Federal Government, whenever the same can be done consistently with the provisions of the Constitution, and without impairing the proper efficiency of the Government. Acting under this conviction, they have reviewed, as carefully as time and other engagements would permit them to do, the degree and amount of patronage now exercised by the President, and have arrived at the conclusion that the same may, and ought to, be diminished by law. For this purpose they herewith present to the Senate six bills, entitled:

1. A bill to regulate the publication of the Laws of the United States, and of public advertisements.
2. A bill to secure in office the faithful Collectors and Disbursers of the Revenue, and to displace defaulters.
3. A bill to regulate the appointment of Postmasters.
4. A bill to regulate the appointment of Cadets.
5. A bill to regulate the appointment of Midshipmen.
6. A bill to prevent Military and Naval Officers from being dismissed the service at the pleasure of the President.

The Committee do not doubt but that there are many other branches of Executive Patronage, in addition to those which are comprehended in the provisions of these bills, which might be advantageously regulated by law. Far from thinking that they have exhausted the subject, they believe that they have only opened it, and that nothing more can be done, at this time, than to lay the foundation of a system to be followed up and completed hereafter.

In coming to the conclusion that Executive Patronage ought to be diminished and regulated, on the plan proposed, the Committee rest their opinion on the ground that the exercise of great patronage in the hands of one man, has a constant tendency to sully the purity

of our institutions, and to endanger the liberties of the country. This doctrine is not new. A jealousy of power, and of the influence of patronage, which must always accompany its exercise, has ever been a distinguished feature in the American character. It displayed itself strongly at the period of the formation, and of the adoption, of the Federal Constitution. At that time the feebleness of the old Confederation had excited a much greater dread of anarchy than of power—"of anarchy among the members than of power in the head"—* and although the impression was nearly universal that a government of more energetic character had become indispensably necessary, yet, even under the influence of this conviction—such was the dread of power and patronage—that the States, with extreme reluctance, yielded their assent to the establishment of the Federal Government. Nor was this the effect of idle and visionary fears on the part of an ignorant multitude, without knowledge of the nature and tendency of power. On the contrary, it resulted from the most extensive and profound political knowledge—from the heads of statesmen, unsurpassed, in any age, in sagacity and patriotism. Nothing could reconcile the great men of that day to a constitution of so much power, but the guards which were put upon it against the abuse of power. Dread and jealousy of this abuse displayed itself throughout the instrument. To this spirit we are indebted for the freedom of the press, trial by jury, liberty of conscience, freedom of debate, responsibility to constituents, power of impeachment, the control of the Senate over appointments to office; and many other provisions of a like character. But the Committee cannot imagine that the jealous foresight of the time, great as it was, or that any human sagacity, could have foreseen, and placed a competent guard upon, every possible avenue to the abuse of power. The nature of a constitutional act excludes the possibility of combining minute perfection with general excellence. After the exertion of all possible vigilance, something of what ought to have been done, has been omitted, and much of what has been attempted, has been found insufficient and unavailing in practice. Much remains for us to do, and much will still remain for posterity to do—for those unborn generations to do, on whom will devolve the sacred task of guarding the Temple of the Constitution, and of keeping alive the vestal flame of liberty.

The committee believe that they will be acting in the spirit of the constitution in laboring to multiply the guards, and to strengthen the barriers, against the possible abuse of power. If a community could be imagined in which the laws should execute themselves—in which the power of government should consist in the enactment of laws—in such a state the machine of government would carry on its operations without jar or friction. Parties would be unknown, and the movements of the political machine would but little more disturb the passions of men than they are disturbed by the operations of the great laws of the material world. But this is not the case. The scene shifts from this imaginary region, where laws execute themselves,

* Federalist.

to the theatre of real life, wherein they are executed by civil and military officers, by armies and navies, by courts of justice, by the collection and disbursement of revenue, with all its train of salaries, jobs, and contracts: and, in this aspect of the reality, we behold the working of PATRONAGE, and discover the reason why so many stand ready, in any country, and in all ages, to flock to the standard of POWER wheresoever, and by whomsoever, it may be raised.

The patronage of the Federal Government, at the beginning, was founded upon a revenue of two millions of dollars.* It is now operating upon twenty-two millions, and, within the life time of many now living, must operate upon fifty. The whole revenue must, in a few years, be wholly applicable to subjects of patronage. At present, about one-half, say ten millions of it, are appropriated to the principal and interest of the public debt, which, from the nature of the object, involves but little patronage. In the course of a few years, this debt, without great mismanagement, must be paid off. A short period of peace, and a faithful application of the sinking fund, must speedily accomplish that most desirable object. Unless the revenue be then reduced, a work as difficult in republics as in monarchies, the patronage of the Federal Government, great as it already is, must, in the lapse of a few years, receive a vast accession of strength. The revenue itself will be doubled, and instead of one half being applicable to objects of patronage, the whole will take that direction. Thus, the reduction of the public debt, and the increase of revenue, will multiply in a fourfold degree the number of persons in the service of the Federal Government, the quantity of public money in their hands, and the number of objects to which it is applicable; but as each person employed will have a circle of greater or less diameter, of which he is the centre and the soul—a circle composed of friends and relations, and of individuals employed by himself on public or on private account—the actual increase of federal power and patronage by the duplication of the revenue, will be, not in the arithmetical ratio, but in geometrical progression, an increase almost beyond the power of the mind to calculate or to comprehend.

The committee think it right to attempt to give an idea of the greatness of this power of patronage by referring to an example in a single city. They will take the city of New York, and a single branch of the federal patronage in that city; and, to avoid mistake or error, will limit their reference to a work of unquestionable authority upon this subject—the "*Blue Book*" of the Republic, which corresponds with the "*Red Book*" of monarchies, and will read from pages 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, of that growing little volume.

* From the 4th of March '89, to the 31st of December, '91, a period of almost three years, the whole amount of the revenue of the Federal Government was only $4,418,913.

Names and Compensation of the Officers of the Customs at New York.

Jonathan Thompson,	Collector,	-	-	-	$4,000 00
Abraham R. Lawrence,	Appraiser,	-	-	-	2,000 00
Frederick Jenkins,	do.	-	-	-	2,000 00
William Seignoret,	Clerk,	-	-	-	500 00
John Condit,	Assistant Collector, Jersey,		-	-	1,000 00
John T. Vernon,	Surveyor,	-	-	-	150 00
John Kearney,	Deputy Collector,		-	-	1,500 00
Samuel S. Gardiner,	do.	-	-	-	1,500 00
David Thompson,	Cashier,	-	-	-	1,500 00
Nathaniel Shultz,	Auditor,	-	-	-	1,000 00
Cornelius Duryee,	Clerk,	-	-	-	650 00
Ebenezer Platt,	do.	-	-	-	650 00
Jacob Duryee,	do.	-	-	-	600 00
Zephar Platt,	do.	-	-	-	550 00
Joseph Leonard,	do.	-	-	-	550 00
T. McCready, Jun.	do.	-	-	-	550 00
William Wier,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
William G. Haycock,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
John H. Ball,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
George W. Thompson,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
William Tuthill,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Joshua Philips,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Daniel Bennet,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Joseph Osborn, Jun.	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Jas. B. Thurston,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Norman Butler,	do.	-	-	-	600 00
Samuel H. Eakin,	do.	-	-	-	600 00
Charles A. Gardiner,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Thomas H. Dubois,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Thomas Dennison,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
William J. McMaster,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Andrew Martine,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Isaac Bluxome,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Henry Bull,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
William B. Byram,	do.	-	-	-	300 00
Andrew H. Mickle,	do.	-	-	-	300 00
Nathaniel Olcott,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
David Seabury,	do.	-	-	-	500 00
Lewis M. Wiss,	do.	-	-	-	145 53
John R. Kean,	do.	-	-	-	241 67
Aaron Phillips,	do.	-	-	-	112 22
John Harrison,	do.	-	-	-	79 12
Bernardus C. Lake,	do.		-	-	73 63
Junius Thompson,	do.	-	-	-	92 03
George Waterman,	do.	-	-	-	58 24
John C. Mickle,	Messenger,	-	-	-	300 00

James Anderson,	Inspector,	$1,095 00
James D. Bissett,	do.	1,086 00
Joseph Board,	do.	1,095 00
Abraham Boker,	do.	1,095 00
John R. Bowne,	do.	1,020 00
George G. Burras,	do.	1,080 00
John Byers,	do.	282 00
Charles Chipp,	do.	1,095 00
Stephen Crane,	do.	1,095 00
Moses Cunningham,	do.	297 00
Joseph Cutler,	do.	1,092 00
Thomas Darling,	do.	1,095 00
John De Camp,	do.	1,095 00
Bertrand Dupoy,	do.	1,080 00
Jacob Frank,	do.	1,086 00
Calvin Gay,	do.	1,041 00
John Gelston,	do.	1,095 00
Zaddock Hedden,	do.	1,095 00
George Howard,	do.	1,095 00
Bezaleel Howe,	do.	1,095 00
Nathaniel Hunt,	do.	1,095 00
Robert Hunter,	do.	1,074 00
George Junis,	do.	1,095 00
Oliver Jaques,	do.	300 00
William Keepe,	do.	1,095 00
Peter Kinman,	do.	1,095 00
John B. Kissam,	do.	303 00
John H. Leggatt,	do.	1,095 00
Jacob Ludlam,	do.	1,095 00
Donald McLean,	do.	1,077 00
Samuel Marvin,	do.	1,095 00
James Mitchell,	do.	1,095 00
John Morris,	do.	1,095 00
Walter Morton,	do.	1,095 00
John C. Mott,	do.	300 00
William E. Nexen,	do.	1,095 00
Richard Nixon,	do.	1,095 00
Naphtali Philips,	do.	1,095 00
Elijah Pinkney,	do.	1,095 00
Richard Platt,	do.	1,080 00
James Porter,	do.	1,095 00
George Seaman,	do.	297 00
Walter Seaman,	do.	1,080 00
Elihu Smith,	do.	300 00
Peter R. Sprainger,	do.	1,077 00
Dennis Stricker,	do.	1,095 00
Sylvester Sullivan,	do.	1,095 00
Peter Taylor,	do.	300 00
Egbert Thompson,	do.	1,095 00

William Underhill,	Inspector,	300 00
B. M. Van Beuren,	do.	1,095 00
William Van Beuren,	do.	1,095 00
Jacob Vanderpool,	do.	1,095 00
John Van Dyck,	do.	1,095 00
Andrew Van Tuyl,	do.	1,095 00
Jacob Van Winkle,	do.	1,095 00
Thomas Walton,	do.	1,032 00
Thomas Waring,	do.	1,095 00
Caleb T. Ward,	do.	1,095 00
Richard Ward,	do.	1,095 00
Jedediah Waterman,	do.	1,095 00
William Willing,	do.	1,095 00
John Whittlesey,	do.	1,095 00
Elam Williams,	do.	1,095 00
Joseph Willoughby,	do.	300 00
Benjamin Wood,	do.	1,095 00
John Woodward,	do.	1,095 00
Abraham Baudoine,	Gauger,	1,789 88
Rinier V. Mooney,	do.	1,874 54
Elias Nexen,	do.	1,339 29
Archibald Somerville,	do.	1,045 49
Harman C. Tallman,	do.	1,843 66
William R. Thompson,	do.	2,187 99
Ebenezer Belknap,	Weigher,	1,781 17
Alexander Blucher,	do.	1,619 94
Jeremiah Brower,	do.	1,830 74
Elihu H. Decamp,	do.	2,153 58
Gerret Forbes,	do.	3,386 70
Thomas Hazard,	do.	1,040 41
Francis McClure,	do.	2,176 23
Alexander Nicoll,	do.	1,181 27
Jacob Stoutenberg,	do.	1,065 10
Jacob Tallman,	do.	2,363 10
Elbert P. Waine,	do.	2,382 68
Samuel Burling,	Measurer,	618 65
Nicholas G. Carmer,	do.	936 47
Daniel Dodge,	do.	1,174 17
Ezekiel Dodge,	do.	727 33
John Gould,	do.	1,040 29
James W. Gray,	do.	833 66
William Philips,	do.	1,121 79
Bernardus Rider,	do.	1,252 29
Ephraim Snow,	do.	885 51
Harmanus Vedder,	do.	1,041 45
Peter Wyncoop,	do.	1,124 09
John J. Cluett,	do.	524 47
Peter Smith,	Deputy Inspector of Revenue,	1,748 87
Ebenezer Cole,	do.	600 35

William Jessup, Dep'y Inspector of Reve'n, - -	$1,235 71
G. Cunningham, do. - -	84 60
Henry Cahoone, Capt. R. Cutter, - - -	819 00
William Isaac, 1st Lieutenant, - - - -	566 00
J. A. Bender, 2d do. - - - -	506 00
John S. Doane, Keeper L. H. - - - -	400 00
John H. Gardiner, do. - - - -	350 00
Noah Mason, do. - - - -	300 00
Edward Shoemaker, do. - - - -	300 00
Charles H. Bernard, Light Ship Master, - -	700 00
John Oakes, Mate, - - - - -	350 00
John Ferguson, Naval Officer, - - - -	3,000 00
David S. Lyon, Dep'y do. - - - -	1,500 00
William Burtsell, Clerk, - - - -	800 00
John Cockle, do. - - - -	750 50
Philip Tabele, do. - - - -	600 00
Samuel Osgood, do. - - - -	600 00
Lewis D. Ozville, do. - - - -	600 00
Michael Roth, do. - - - -	600 00
Henry Reed, do. - - - -	600 00
Joseph B. Bleecher, do. - - - -	500 00
Lewis Webb, Jun. do. - - - -	400 00
James McFarland, do. - - - -	60 00
Joseph G. Swift, Surveyor, - - - -	2,500 00
Saml. Terry, Dep'y do. - - - -	1,500 00
Anthony Haff, First Clerk, - - - -	800 00
Pierre A. Young, Second do. - - - -	750 00
E. B Grayson, Third do. - - - -	500 00
D. Thompson, Collecting do. - - - -	170 00
Thomas Brannan, Porter, - - - -	180 00

A formidable list indeed! formidable in numbers, and still more so from the vast amount of money in their hands. The action of such a body of men, supposing them to be animated by one spirit, must be tremendous in an election; and that they will be so animated, is a proposition too plain to need demonstration. *Power* over a man's *support*, has always been held and admitted to be *power* over his *will.** The President has "power" over the "support" of all these officers; and they again have "power" over the "support" of debtor merchants to the amount of ten millions of dollars *per annum*, and over the daily support of an immense number of individuals, professional, mechanical, and day-laboring, to whom they *can* and *will* extend, or deny, a valuable private as well as public patronage, according to the part which they shall act in *State*, as well as in *Federal*, elections. Still this is only a branch, a mere prong, of Federal patronage, in the city of New York. The same Government has, in the same city, a branch of the United States' Bank, wielding a capital of many mil-

* Federalist.

lions; a large military, naval, and post-office establishment; a judiciary, with its appropriate officers; presses, which print the laws and public advertisements; and a long list of contractors and jobbers.

But it may be said that this is an extreme case; that New York is the first city in the Union, and Federal patronage necessarily the greatest there. Granted. Then go to the other extreme; take a borough town of comparatively small population, and an insignificant amount of revenue to collect: take Norfolk, with her white population of five thousand souls, and her nett revenue of sixty-four thousand seven hundred and twelve dollars and twenty-seven cents, and see the power of patronage there.

BLUE BOOK—PAGES 53–4.

Names and compensation of the Officers of the Customs at Norfolk.

James Johnson, Collector, &c. &c. &c. - - -	$1,319 07
Alexander Tunstall, Deputy Collector - - -	1,000 00
Thomas Gatewood, Clerk - - - -	600 00
Joseph Marks " - - - -	54 95
Richard Gatewood, " and Apr. - - -	51 67
Thomas Jennings, Inspector and Mar. - - -	1,001 79
Joseph Fullgham " " - - -	1,095 30
N. W. Parker, Inspector and St. K. - - -	1,095 00
William Bous " and Marker - - -	363 67
J. A. Forman " " - - -	233 67
T. M'Candlish, Inspector and Measurer - -	271 80
Francis Benson, Inspector - - - -	63 00
G. B. Richards, I. M. and Mar. - - - -	92 85
William D. Roberts, Inspector - - - -	12 00
William C. Gatewood, " - - - -	27 00
Thomas Cornick, " - - - -	111 00
R. B. Servant, " - - - -	18 00
Jacob Vicory, Weigher and Gauger - - -	512 00
Edwin Stark, Measurer - - - - -	460 69
J. G. Jones, Captain Revenue Cutter - - -	1,076 30
John Middleton, 1st Lieutenant " - - -	573 30
William Coody, 2d " " - - -	513 30
Thomas Owens, Appraiser - - - -	5 00
Edwin Lee, " - - - - -	10 00
Alex. Wilson, " - - - - -	10 00
Samuel Vicory, " - - - - -	5 00
John Tunis, " - - - - -	5 00
George Raincock, " - - - - -	5 00
John R. Triplett, " - - - - -	5 00
Jno. R. Harwood, " - - - - -	5 00
P. Barrand, Surgeon M. H. - - - -	840 00
William Tee, Keeper Light House - - -	450 00
John B. Same, " Vessel - - - -	500 00
Ralph Johnson, " " - - - -	500 00
G. L. Corbin, " " - - - -	500 00

Life Holden, Keeper Light Vessel	-	-	-	700	00	
T. Burroughs, " Light House	-	-	-	400	00	
John Luke, " " "	-	-	-	400	00	
Wm. Johnson, " " "	-	-	-	400	00	
George Lee, " " "	-	-	-	400	00	
John B. Jones, Surveyor	-	-	-	205	50	

Forty-one officers supported and employed by a single branch of Federal patronage in Norfolk! to collect an annual decreasing revenue of $64,712 27; a single branch for this borough, also, has her navy yard, and military establishment; her judiciary, post office, presses, and the unknown and unknowable list of jobbers and contractors; and the still more inscrutable list of expectants, who are waiting for "dead men's shoes," and willing, in the mean while, to do any thing that the living men wish. The influence of such a body of men, animated by one spirit in an election, must be still more efficient in a borough town of five thousand souls, than the influence of a far greater number of Federal officers and retainers, in the far greater population of New York. And so throughout the Union. Every where, to the extreme frontier of the remotest State or Territory, Federal patronage will be found, in degree and force, proportionate to the population of the place, and forever augmenting with the increasing power of the Government. Diminution of patronage is not thought of: the state of the Custom House in Norfolk, is already pregnant proof of this. The power of patronage, unless checked by the vigorous interposition of Congress, must go on increasing, until Federal influence, in many parts of this Confederation, will predominate in elections as completely as British influence predominates in the elections of Scotland and Ireland, in rotten borough towns, and in the great naval stations of Portsmouth and Plymouth. In no part of the practical operation of the Federal Government, has the predictions of its ablest advocates been more completely falsified, than in this subject of patronage. The numbers 45 and 46 of the Federalist, were devoted to an inquiry into the comparative means of influence possessed by the Federal and the State Governments; and the superiority, at every point of the inquiry, was assigned to the latter. It will be useful to read a few passages from these numbers. Compared with the actual state of things, they will exhibit the difference which a few short years have developed, between the theoretical and the practical Government of this Union; and the thinking mind will be carried forward, by a natural impulsion, to contemplate the further differences which a few years more must uncover.

THE PASSAGES.

"The powers delegated by the proposed constitution to the *Federal* Government, are *few* and *defined*: those which remain to the *State* Governmets, are *numerous* and *indefinite*. * * * * * The number of individuals employed under the constitution of the *United States*, will be much *smaller* than the number employed under

the particular *States:* there will, consequently, be *less* of personal influence on the side of the *former* than of the *latter.* * * * * *
If the *Federal* Government is to have collectors of revenue, the *State* Governments will have *theirs* also: and as those of the former (the United States) will be principally on the sea coast, and *not* very numerous, whilst those of the latter, (*the States,*) will be spread over the face of the country, and will be *very* numerous; the advantage in this view also lies on the same side, (*the side of the States.*) * * * * * *
Within every district to which a *Federal* collector would be alotted, there would not be less than thirty or forty, or even more officers, of different descriptions, (in the employment of the States,) and many of them persons of character and weight, whose influence would lie on the *side of the* STATE."

To be able to show to the Senate a full and perfect view of the power and workings of Federal patronage, the Committee addressed a note, immediately after they were charged with this inquiry, to each of the Departments, and to the Postmaster General, requesting to be informed of the whole number of persons employed, and the whole amount of money paid out, under the direction of their respective departments. The answers received are herewith submitted, and made part of this report. With the BLUE BOOK, they will discover enough to show that the predictions of those who were not blind to the defects of the Constitution, are ready to be realized; that the power and influence of *Federal* patronage, contrary to the argument in the "*Federalist*," is an overmatch for the power and influence of *State* patronage; that its workings will contaminate the purity of all elections, and enable the Federal Government, eventually, to govern throughout the States, as effectually as if they were so many provinces of one vast empire.

The whole of this great power will centre in the President. The King of England is the "fountain of honor;" the President of the United States is the source of patronage. He presides over the entire system of Federal appointments, jobs, and contracts. He has "power" over the "support" of the individuals who administer the system. He makes and unmakes them. He chuses from the circle of his friends and supporters, and *may* dismiss them, and, upon all the principles of human action, *will* dismiss them, as often as they disappoint his expectations. His spirit will animate their actions in all the elections to *State* and *Federal* offices. There may be exceptions, but the truth of a general rule is proved by the exception. The intended check and control of the Senate, without new constitutional or statutory provisions, will cease to operate. Patronage will penetrate this body, subdue its capacity of resistance, chain it to the car of power, and enable the President to rule as easily, and much more securely with, than without, the nominal check of the Senate. If the President was himself the officer of the People, elected by them and responsible to them, there would be *less* danger from this concentration of all power in his hands: but it is the business of statesmen to act upon things as they are, and not as they would wish them to be. We must then look for-

ward to the time when the public revenue will be doubled; when the civil and military officers of the Federal Government will be quadrupled; when its influence over individuals will be multiplied to an indefinite extent; when the nomination by the President can carry *any man* through the Senate, and his recommendation can carry *any measure* through the two Houses of Congress; when the principle of public action will be open and avowed, *the President wants* MY *vote, and I want* HIS *patronage; I will* VOTE *as he wishes, and he will* GIVE *me the office I wish for.* What will this be but the Government of *one* man? and what is the Government of *one* man but a *monarchy?* Names are nothing. The nature of a thing is in its substance, and the name soon accommodates itself to the substance. The first Roman Emperor was styled Emperor of the *Republic*, and the last French Emperor took the same title; and their respective countries were just as essentially *monarchical* before as after the assumption of these titles. It cannot be denied, or dissembled, but that this Federal Government gravitates to the same point, and that the election of the Executive by the Legislature quickens the impulsion.

Those who make the President must support him. Their political fate becomes identified, and they must stand or fall together. Right or wrong, they must support him; and if he is made contrary to the will of the People, he must be supported not only by votes and speeches, but by arms. A violent and forced state of things will ensue. Individual combats will take place; and the combats of individuals will be the forerunner to general engagements. The array of man against man will be the prelude to the array of army against army, and of State against State. Such is the law of nature; and it is equally in vain for one set of men to claim an exemption from its operation, as it would be for any other set to suppose that, under the same circumstances, they would not act in the same manner. The natural remedy for all this evil would be to place the election of President in the hands of the people of the United States. He would then have a power to support him, which would be as able as willing to aid him when he was himself supporting the interests of the country, as they would be to put him down when he should neglect or oppose those interests. Your committee, looking at the present mode of electing the President as the principal source of all this evil, have commenced their labors at the beginning of this session by recommending an amendment to the constitution in that essential and vital particular; but in this, as in many other things, they find the greatest difficulty to lie in the first step. The committee recommend the amendment, but the People cannot act upon it until Congress shall "propose" it, and, peradventure, Congress will not "propose" it to them at all.

The Committee have also reported another proposition of amendment, intended to exclude Senators and Representatives from appointment to civil offices, under the authority of the Federal Government; and this proposition they will not despair of seeing referred to the consideration and decision of the People. They believe that every proposition to amend the Constitution, not frivolous, or flagrantly bad

on its face, should be referred to the People. The people *made* the Constitution, and they can *amend* it. They are the only constitutional triers of the amendment. They alone have power to adopt it: and for Congress to refuse to propose the amendment, is to prevent decision, and to act upon the principle that the people are incompetent to decide.

The Committee must then take things as they are. Not being able to lay the axe to the root of the tree, they must go to pruning among the limbs and branches. Not being able to reform the Constitution in the election of President, they must go to work upon his powers, and trim down these by statutory enactments, wherever it can be done by law, and with a just regard to the proper efficiency of the Government. For this purpose they have reported the six bills which have been enumerated. They do not pretend to have exhausted the subject, but only to have seized a few of its prominent points. They have only touched, in four places, the vast and pervading system of Federal Executive Patronage: *the Press—the Post Office—the Armed Force*—and *the Appointing Power*. They are few, compared to the whole number of points which the system presents, but they are points vital to the liberties of the country. The Press is put foremost, because it is the moving power of human action: the Post Office is the handmaid of the Press: the Armed Force its executor: and the Appointing Power the directress of the whole. If the Appointing power was itself an emanation of the popular will—if the President was himself the officer and the organ of the people—there would be *less* danger in leaving to his will the sole direction of all these arbiters of human fate. But things must be taken as they are; statesmen must act for the country they live in, and not for the Island of Utopia; they must act upon the state of facts in that country, and not upon the visions of fancy. In the country for which the Committee act, the Press, with some exceptions, the Post Office, the Armed Force, and the Appointing Power, are in the hands of the President, and the President himself is not in the hands of the People. The President may, and in the current of human affairs will, be against the People; and, in his hands, the arbiters of human fate must be against them also. This will not do. The possibility of it must be avoided. The safety of the People is the "supreme law;" and to ensure that safety, these arbiters of human fate must change position, and take post on the side of the People.

A bill to regulate the publication of the Laws of the United States, and of Public Advertisements.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That, from and after the first day of December next, the selection of newspapers for the publication of the laws of the United States, and of public advertisements, shall be made as follows: in each State the number selected shall not be less than three, and may be equal to half the number of Representatives to which such State may be entitled in Congress; in each Territory, one; in the District of Columbia, three.

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the selection of newspapers for the above objects, within the respective States, shall be made by the Senators and Representatives in Congress, from such State, and the names of the selected papers communicated to the Department of State, in writing, signed jointly or severally, and a majority to govern, on or before the first day of January next, and on or before the same day in every two years thereafter; in default of which, the selection shall be made by the Secretary of State.

Sec. 3. *And be it further enacted,* That the Delegates from Territories, respectively, shall, in like manner, each select the paper in which the publication of the laws of the United States and public advertisements, shall be made in the Territory from which he comes; and in default of such selection being made, and communicated to the Department of State, the Secretary of State shall select the same.

Sec. 4. *And be it further enacted,* That the selection of newspapers in the District of Columbia, for the publication of the like laws and advertisements, shall be made, at the same time, by the Secretary of State; and a preference shall be given, in the selection, to the papers which may have the greatest number of actual subscribers, to be ascertained by the affidavit of the editors, respectively.

Sec. 5. *And be it further enacted,* That the public advertisements of the United States shall be published in such papers only, as may have been selected according to the terms of this act, and may be published in any number of them, according to the nature of the advertisement, and the propriety of giving to it a general, a partial, or merely a local circulation.

Sec. 6. *And be it further enacted,* That, as soon as may be, after the first day of January next, and every two years thereafter, a copy of the list of newspapers selected, according to the terms of this act, for the publication of the United States' laws and advertisements, shall be communicated by the Secretary of State, to the Senate and House of Representatives, to the Heads of Departments, respectively, and to the Postmaster General.

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, *County of Washington:*

Be it remembered that I, George Sweeny, a Notary Public, by lawful authority duly commissioned and sworn, and dwelling in the city of Washington, have this day carefully compared the annexed printed paper of fifteen pages, word for word, and figure for figure, with Document No. 88, printed for the use of the Senate of the United States, at the first session of the Nineteenth Congress, and I do hereby certify the same to be a true copy of said document.

In testimony whereof, I, the said Notary Public, have hereunto subscribed my name, [L.S.] and affixed my seal of office, at the city of Washington aforesaid, this 14th day of October, 1840.

GEORGE SWEENY, *Notary Public.*

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